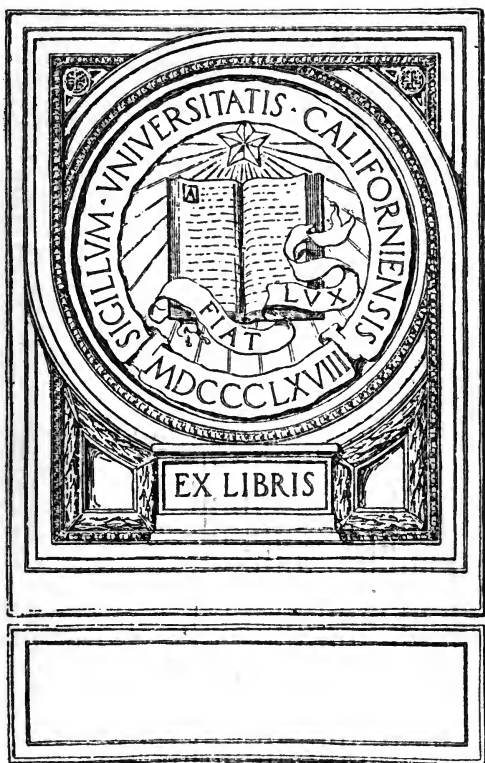


AMONG
THE WORLDS
PEACE-MAKERS



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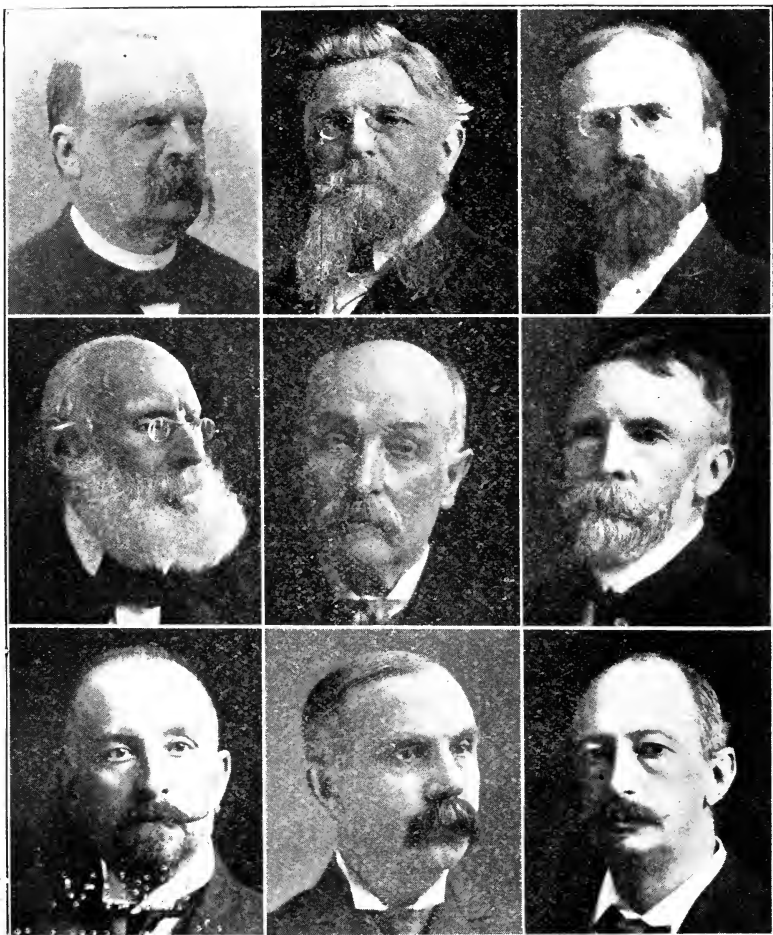
James D. Melan



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THE
OF
THE



INTERPARLIAMENTARY PEACEMAKERS.

Houzeau, Belgium.
 Passy, France.
 Giuliano, Italy.

Lund, Norway.
 Cremer, England.
 Whiting, U. S. A.

Beckman, Sweden.
 Krabbe, Denmark.
 Tydemann, Holland.

AMONG THE WORLD'S PEACEMAKERS

AN EPITOME OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION; WITH
SKETCHES OF EMINENT MEMBERS OF THIS INTERNATIONAL
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND OF PROGRESSIVE
PEOPLE WHO ARE PROMOTING THE PLAN
FOR PERMANENT PEACE WHICH THIS
UNION OF LAWMAKERS
HAS ESPOUSED

EDITED BY
HAYNE DAVIS

41

SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION TO
THE 13TH AND 14TH CONFERENCES OF THE
INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

PUBLISHED BY
THE PROGRESSIVE PUBLISHING CO.
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216-218 William Street,
New York.

56

DEDICATED
TO
HAMILTON HOLT
ALBERT KEITH SMILEY
AND
RICHARD BARTHOLDT

AS AN EVIDENCE OF MY APPRECIATION OF THE OPPORTUNITIES
WHICH THEY HAVE OPENED TO ME, OF AIDING IN
THE PROMOTION OF PEACE, THRU INTERNA-
TIONAL POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

802089



INTRODUCTION.

I have been honored by being asked to write a short introduction to this book, which gives the history of the Interparliamentary movement to advance the cause of International Peace, since the day I had the honor of introducing to President Cleveland the British Parliamentary delegates, with Mr. Cremer at their head.

It is a record calculated to encourage all of us who see in War the foulest stain that now disgraces our civilization.

The Duke of Wellington, a man almost of our own age, in storming San Sebastian permitted pillage and no quarter for the defenders. In justification of his conduct, the Duke said: "I believe it has always been understood that the defenders of a fortress stormed have no right to quarter. It had fallen to my lot to take many towns by storm. I never saw or heard of one so stormed that was not plundered." Happily the world has emerged from such savagery, and we have many provisions for mitigating the horrors of War, and are on the way to its ultimate abolition.

The Treaty of Permanent Peace offered to the United States by Great Britain and supported by her Parliamentary Group failed to receive in 1897 the needful two-thirds majority in the American

Senate, despite the strenuous efforts of President Cleveland and other eminent advocates of Peace.

A recent attempt to secure treaties of arbitration between the United States and nine nations also failed, partly because the time was not propitious, for certain reasons quite apart from the views of Senators upon the treaties submitted to them, and partly because of a contention concerning the respective Constitutional powers of the Executive and the Senate, which in due time will certainly be adjusted.

It may be accepted with confidence that, upon the clear issue of arbitration treaties with other nations, more than two-thirds of the Senators stand ready—nay are most anxious to support them.

Arbitration has been steadily gaining in other lands. Since the Jay Treaty, of a century and more ago, not less than 571 international disputes have been so settled and not one award has been questioned, except one where the arbiters misunderstood their powers. No less than twenty-three International Treaties have been concluded during 1904 and 1905. Notable instances of progress are seen in those between Denmark and The Netherlands, and between Chili and Argentina, which agree to submit all differences, making no exceptions whatever. To crown their work the latter two countries, by popular subscription and at a cost of over \$100,000, have erected a statue to the Prince of Peace on the hights of the Andes, upon the long

disputed boundary line between these two Republics, finally fixed by an arbitral decision. The treaty recently concluded between Sweden and Norway is also most encouraging—all questions arising between them are to be submitted to arbitration, except such as affect independence, integrity or vital interests, but “should any difference arise as to what does affect these points” that question is to be submitted to The Hague Tribunal.

We have cheering indications of progress in various instances of co-operation among the Powers. Not long ago Germany, France (think of it!) and Russia took combined action in reference to the war settlement between China and Japan. Five Powers combined in China and acted under a German general.

Lasting peace is certainly drawing nearer, and it seems obvious that the time has come to make a determined and concentrated effort along the lines which have been disclosed, during the two decades of “concerted effort” among progressive statesmen, which gave birth to the Interparliamentary Union, the Conferences at The Hague, and the High Court of the Nations which issued from the first of these Conferences, as well as the numerous treaties of arbitration entered into between particular nations.

The civilized world has become one body; its members, electrically united, are in constant communication, and their interests largely interdependent.

Why should each separate nation be forced to maintain forever a great army and navy? Not to preserve internal peace, but to prevent the attacks of other nations.

Notwithstanding their enormous cost, these armaments have not only proved inefficient, but may even be held in some cases to have stimulated the attacks they were created to prevent, for they are equally weapons of offense as well as of defense.

It seems obvious to the writer that the easiest, surest, cheapest and most effective means of protecting nations from attack and of insuring peace is the creation of an international police power to enforce the decisions of properly constituted International Tribunals, among civilized peoples, each nation agreeing to contribute, upon a proportionate basis of population and wealth, its quota either in men, ships, or funds required to administer International Law, to restore peace when broken, and punish the peace breaker.

Here would be a force whose duty would be solely defensive, and which would only be called into action in case any nation should attack another.

Every member of the League would thus be insured against attack, and, as the League demonstrated its ability to preserve Peace, each nation could safely continue to reduce its armaments, until these in due time became inconsiderable.

The difference between the soldier under existing conditions and the international policeman under

the proposed system would be that the former is called upon to wage offensive war and to destroy. The latter could act only to preserve the peace.

If, instead of an international police force, the nations would agree to cease commercial relations with any Power breaking the peace, this punishment might prove equally effective. No interchange of products, no supplying of war materials or loans, no mails, would be a severe rebuke, carrying with it moral censure as well as material loss. The more peaceful punishment might first be applied and military force held in reserve, to be resorted to only when all other measures failed.

A great step forward would be made even if the Powers, declining at present to go to the length of using military force, agreed only to apply the boycott to the peace breaking Power. The more peaceful mode should always be preferred.

The concentration of all efforts for peace upon this one idea of creating an International Police Power seems the true policy for all those who believe war to be the greatest blot upon our civilization, and would fain see established upon earth the Reign of Peace.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Andrew Carnegie". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the main body of text.

NEW YORK CITY, January 23d, 1907.

Acknowledgments.

Portions of this volume appeared first in various publications, and for permission to make use of this material I take pleasure in expressing my grateful appreciation to *The Independent*, the *Outlook*, Harper & Brothers, the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, the *Post-Despatch*, the *St. Louis Republic*, the *Rocky Mountain News*, the *Chicago Evening Post*, the *Washington Star*, the *Washington Post*, the *Washington Times*, the *Buffalo Commercial*, the *New York American*; also to William Randolph Hearst, who kindly consented to my making use of an article published and copyrighted by him; also to the Century Company, Rockwood, and Underwood & Underwood, photographers, for permission to use copyrighted photographs; also to Andrew Carnegie, Hon. Richard Bartholdt, Count Albert Apponyi, Baroness Bertha von Suttner, and Captain Richmond Pearson Hobson, whose contributions to this volume constitute a large part of its value.

HAYNE DAVIS.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE people are entitled to know what is being done to promote their welfare and the men who are doing it, in order that they may approve the things that pertain to their peace, and support the men who dare to take a stand for the realization of these things.

It has been my good fortune to come in touch with leading statesmen who are doing the things that make for the peace of the world. It is my duty to them and to the people to make public the facts which have come to my knowledge.

In publishing a book on the Peacemakers, in which I mention only a few men, I do not mean to claim for them exclusively a title which belongs by right to every man who will claim the inheritance which belongs to him as a man. I do not even mean to say that these men are the greatest Peacemakers of the world.

Every man in any age or country who has brought, or who may hereafter bring, into human consciousness a true idea, is to that extent a peacemaker. And good literature is merely a feeble reflection of the light which these men shed upon the human sky.

The Prince of Peacemakers never took any part in politics. He had a higher office to perform. He had to stand for and demonstrate the absolute Truth, which alone can give the peace that neither men nor nations can take away. But there is a peace which the operation of true political principles can give, and there are thousands of brave men who are laboring to extend the operation of these principles, so as to narrow the area in which war is waged, and to enlarge the area of peace thru justice, duly administered. More than two thousand of these are banded together in an organization known as the Interparliamentary Union.

In this little book I will present this Interparliamentary Union, and the plan for peace founded on justice which it has now espoused, and then an image of its leading men, as they have appeared to me.

THE EDITOR.

NEW YORK CITY, January, 1907.

Chronology of the Interparliamentary Peace Movement.

1887.

Presentation of delegation from British Parliament to the President of the United States, October 31st, 1887.

1888.

Conference at Paris between nine members of the British and twenty-five members of the French parliaments, October 31st, 1888.

1889.

Conference at Paris between members (about one hundred) from the Parliaments of Belgium, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Norway and the United States, June 29th and 30th, 1889, at which the Interparliamentary Union was created.

1895.

Resolution adopted by the Interparliamentary Conference at Brussels in favor of the creation of a Permanent International Court of Arbitration.

1899.

The creation of such a court as the outcome of the Conference of Nations held at The Hague upon the initiative of the Emperor of Russia.

1904.

Resolution of St. Louis adopted by the Twelfth Interparliamentary Conference, calling for a second Conference at The Hague to consider the strengthening of the Hague Court and the establishment of a Permanent International Congress, September 13th, 1904.

Issue of invitations for such a Conference by the President of the United States, October 30th, 1904.

1905.

Commissions appointed by the Thirteenth Interparliamentary Conference (Brussels) to carefully consider the basis for a Permanent International Congress, and a general Treaty of Arbitration, proposed by the president of the American delegation, August 29, 1905.

1906.

Resolutions of Fourteenth Interparliamentary Conference (London) in favor of converting second Hague Conference into a permanent body, and of defining an area in which the Hague Court shall have jurisdiction, July 24, 1906.

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Among the World's Peace Makers

CHAPTER I.

The Interparliamentary Union*

BY HAYNE DAVIS

IN 1885 there was no Interparliamentary Union. Up to that time members of even two National Parliaments had never assembled together. In that year a man named William Randal Cremer took a seat in the British House of Commons. When only twenty-five years of age he went thru a nine months' industrial war as one of the labor leaders. This war was one of the severest ever waged in England, and it extended to business which required the services of 100,000 working men. In England four persons, on the average, depend on every workman, so that about half a million people were affected by this lockout. Its fires burned into the mind of Mr. Cremer this idea—"Warfare between those who are dependent

* Reprinted from the July 19th (1906) issue of *The Independent*, 130 Fulton Street, New York City.

on each other is madness." He came out of that struggle with the light of this idea brightly burning in his mind, and ever since then it has been the guiding light of all his actions. As soon as he took his seat in Parliament, this light began to shine on the political problems in front of him. As a member of Parliament, he was compelled to pass judgment on questions which concerned the people of other nations as well as of Great Britain, and he found the Government perpetually engaged in preparation for war and periodically engaged in war itself. He saw that the right way out of this wrong condition was to introduce the principle of arbitration into international affairs. His clear discernment of this fact constituted him the inevitable instrument for its realization. Within two years after his entry into Parliament, nearly every member of the House of Commons was compelled to choose between signing and refusing to sign the following document, which Mr. Cremer drafted before he disclosed to a single person the thought that had come to him, when reflecting, alone and devoutly, upon the best way of abolishing this plague of war from the affairs of men:

"To the President and Congress of the United States:

1889
"The undersigned members of the British Parliament learn with the utmost satisfaction that various proposals have been introduced into Congress, urging the Government of the United States to take the necessary steps for concluding with Great Britain a treaty, which shall stipulate that any differences or disputes which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency shall be referred to arbitration.

Should such a proposal happily emanate from the Congress of the United States, our best influence shall be used to ensure its acceptance by the Government of Great Britain. The conclusion of such a treaty would be a splendid example to those nations who are wasting their resources in war-provoking institutions, and might induce other governments to join the peaceful compact."

Mr. Cremer told me some interesting incidents connected with securing signatures to this document. John Bright was then in Parliament, and when Mr. Cremer presented the memorial to him, Mr. Bright inquired whether there was any precedent for the memorializing of the members of one Parliament by the members of another. That is always an Englishman's first question. Immediately Mr. Cremer made a reply which has flashed out from Englishmen in so many crises and changed the course of history: "There is no precedent, but this is the thing to do. So we will make a precedent."

Mr. Bright then scrutinized the memorial sentence by sentence, and finally ended by saying: "I could not have drawn it better myself," as he affixed his signature.

233 ✓ Mr. Cremer appeared at Washington on October 31st, 1887, armed with this document, subscribed by 234 members of Parliament, and asked for an interview with Grover Cleveland, who was then President of the United States. Andrew Carnegie arranged the interview and introduced the delegation in the following words:

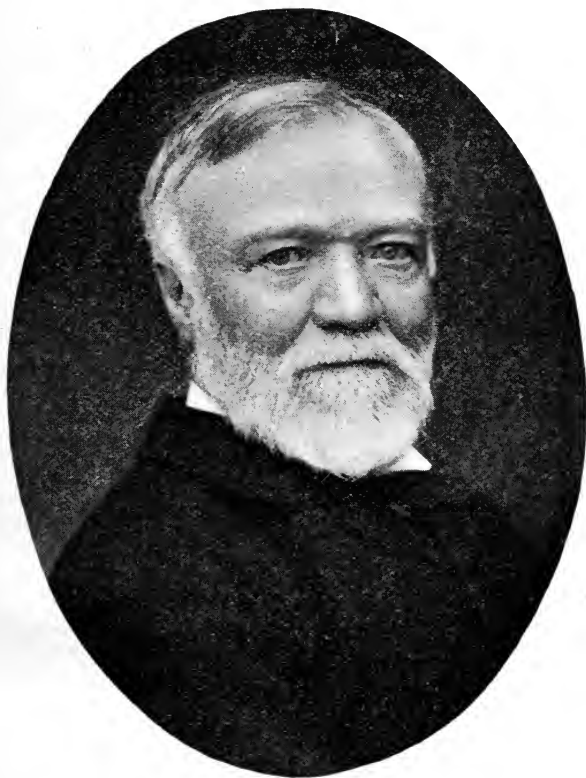
"Mr. President: Your own extraordinary career proves how little one knows of the duties which may devolve upon

him, but I am sure that I, myself, can never be called upon to perform a part which will more deeply enlist my sympathies than that which I have now the honor to undertake.

"I have to introduce, Mr. President, a deputation of citizens of Great Britain, who desire to present a memorial addressed to yourself and to Congress, signed by 233 members of the House of Commons, among whom will be recognized many of the staunchest friends of this republic. The memorialists express their hearty approval of the various proposals which have been introduced in Congress urging the Government to take steps to conclude treaties with other nations, which shall stipulate that, if difficulties unfortunately arise which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency, that they shall be finally settled by amicable arbitration—and they promise their support to such action upon the part of their own Government.

✓ V "You will be pleased, Mr. President, to know that the movement originates with the workingmen, and that it was their representatives in Parliament who solicited the co-operation of other members. Therefore, there are representatives appointed by the Trades Union Congress. The address itself will be presented by Mr. Cremer, Secretary of the Workmen's Peace Association, and the trusted member of his class in Parliament, himself a workingman. He will also present to you original letters from many of the men of his country, foremost in social rank, and in the scientific, political and religious circles of England—commending this endeavor to substitute the arbitrament of reason for that of force. Beginning, therefore, with the toiling masses all classes of the community have heartily joined in the movement and are represented here today.

"The toilers of the world, upon whom the burden of war ultimately falls, grow tired and weary of strife. Costly armaments are draining their substance; and they naturally turn to this great republic, which moves peacefully along the path of industrial development, relying not upon engines of destruction for its safety, but upon a policy which excludes self-aggrandizement, and upon its earnest desire to earn the goodwill of mankind, and to live at peace with all the world. It has been felt, Mr. President, by those here represented, they could appeal to yourself and to Congress, as the official representatives of a country of which it can truthfully be said that "All its paths are peace,"



ANDREW CARNEGIE.

to inaugurate the reign of peace upon earth by offering not only to the land they represent, but to all lands, treaties of this character.

"Mr. President, there is no need to dwell upon the importance of such a step. Few events in the world's history would rank with the making of such a treaty. Perhaps only two in our own country's history could fitly be compared with it. Washington's Administration established the republic; Lincoln's Administration abolished human slavery. We fondly hope, sir, that it may be reserved for yours to conclude a treaty, not only with the Government of the other great English speaking nation, but with other lands as well, which shall henceforth and forever secure to those nations the blessings of mutual peace and goodwill. The makers of such a treaty will have done much to remove from humanity its greatest stain—the killing of man by man—and we venture to hope, that if the two great nations here represented set such an example, other nations may be induced to follow it, and war be thus ultimately banished from the face of the earth. I beg leave, Mr. President, to introduce the members of the deputation."

Each member of the deputation was then introduced by Mr. Carnegie, and after the President had shaken hands with every one the Rt. Hon. Sir Lyon Playfair said:

✓ "Mr. President: I have the high honor to present the deputation of eleven Members of Parliament, who propose to present to you, as head of this great nation, and thru you to Congress, a memorial in favor of the arbitration of political differences when diplomatic agencies have failed to adjust them. This memorial has been signed by 233 members of the House of Commons, or by more than one-third of its whole number. It is really the outcome of an ardent desire on the part of the workingmen of the United Kingdom to perpetuate the friendship and peace which now happily exists between the kindred people on both sides of the Atlantic. The representatives of the people have given expression to this feeling among their constituents by signing the memorial. Even if it do not effect an immediate or approximate treaty of arbitration, you will, Mr. President, recognize that the memorial is a re-

markable expression of the brotherly feeling which our working classes entertain for their kinsmen in the United States.

"International arbitration, if established, would only be one step further in the history of civilization. When individuals quarrel, society does not permit them to settle the dispute by violence, but it refers them to courts of equity or law, in order that the differences may be composed. Why should not this principle be extended to nations, especially when, as in the United States, they are allied by love and knit together by lore. We are both the common inheritors of the traditions and glories of the Anglo-Saxon race, from which we have obtained the spirit of conciliation—a spirit that has so aided the national development of both countries.

"The time is favorable for a consideration of the question because the whole world is startled by the new aspect of war, which the progress of science is making a huge engine for the brutal butchery of men, and the wanton waste of property. Its increasing cost threatens the basis of national credit, and even of national solvency. In ten years the cost of European armaments has increased by at least 25 per cent., while it amounts to 3 per cent. of the whole earnings of Europe. The United States almost alone among nations can keep down its combatant expenditure, because it does not consider it necessary to anticipate war with foreign nations. It is here, therefore, rather than in Europe that the proposal for treaties of arbitration might naturally be made. At all events, we might devise a treaty of arbitration between the United Kingdom and the United States.

"That would be a glorious example to other nations, and might lead to the two great Anglo-Saxon nations being the peacemakers of the world. That is the feeling which has induced so many Members of Parliament to offer their co-operation to members of Congress in settling political differences by arbitration. If our two countries succeed in doing so, it will give an eminent illustration, that nations as well as individuals can compose their differences without violence by adherence to the principles of equity and of international law.

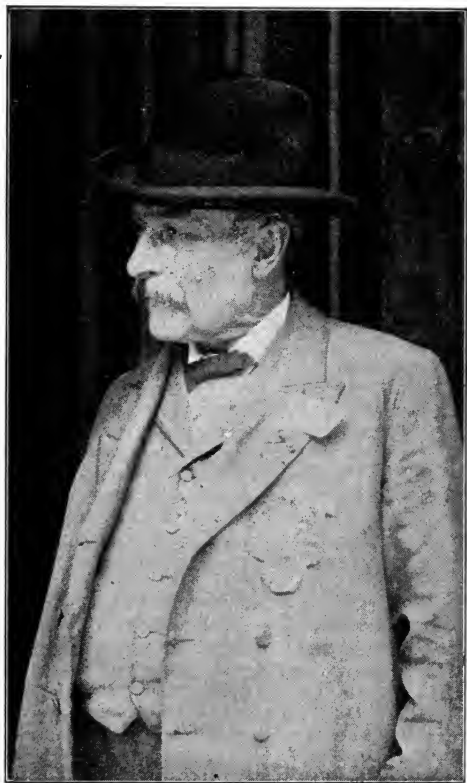
"Mr. Cremer, who is secretary of the Workmen's Peace Association, and Member of Parliament, will now, with your permission, present the memorial."

Mr. Cremer said:

"Mr. President: I feel that we should be wanting in respect and gratitude if we neglected to express our high appreciation of the honor which you, as President of this great country, and the representative of sixty millions of people, have conferred upon us, in according us this interview.

"Most of the deputation have from time to time approached ministers of state in regard to subjects of great national interest, but important as those questions were, they were trifling when compared with the question which you have kindly permitted us to submit for your consideration today.

"We are fully aware of the gravity of the subject, the momentous issue, and far reaching results involved in the object of our mission. We are also keenly alive to the difficulties, which even as yet surround a practical application of our principle. But great as the difficulties may be, we do not believe they are insurmountable, and we are sanguine enough to feel assured that if an earnest desire exists they can be overcome. Among the masses of the people we are fully satisfied that the desire does exist, and we hope that it will soon be followed by an earnest and determined effort to give that desire practical effect. There is very little doubt that the address has been so largely signed by the representatives of the people because they found their constituents strongly approved of it. In fact, the Workmen's Peace Association, whose objects have been approved by the bulk of our countrymen, was its original promoter. But here we are today to present the address—not in the name of any section of our countrymen, but on behalf of 233 members of the British House of Commons. The address has been signed by Liberals and Conservatives—among whom are twenty-one members who have held office in recent Governments. When the address was prepared, the promoters little anticipated that it would be so largely signed—about one hundred signatures was all they calculated upon obtaining. That the number that they hoped for has been more than doubled, proves how widespread is the desire for the realization of our views. As further evidence of sympathy with our efforts, thirty-eight members of the House of Lords have written me letters of cordial approval. These letters, which will be handed to you with the address are from the Earl of Aberdeen, the



WILLIAM RANDAL CREMER.

Founder of the Interparliamentary Union.
Taken in front of the Arlington Hotel, Washington,
September 24th, 1904.

Marquis of Bristol, Lord Belper, Lord Monk Bretton, Lord Bramwell, Lord Blackford, Earl of Carlisle, Earl of Camperdown, Earl of Derby, Earl of Elgin, Lord Ebury, Lord Gwydir, Lord Harris, Lord Hobhouse, Lord Herries, Earl of Iddesleigh, Lord Kimberly, Lord Kinnaird, Lord Kensington, Earl of Leitrim, Earl of Lichfield, Lord Lawrence, Earl of Morley, Lord Methuen, Lord Monkswell, Earl of Northbrook, Lord Northbourne, the Marquis of Ripon, Lord Sudeley, Lord Stalbridge, Earl Spencer, Earl Seafield, Lord Thurlow, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Newcastle, the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

✓ "Similar expressions of opinion have been received from the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, Cardinal Manning, the Rev. Newman Hall, the Lord Mayor-elect of London, and last, but not least, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. That great religious body, the Congregational Union, which represents 2,000 ministers, at its recent session unanimously adopted a resolution approving the objects of the deputation. Representatives of the Trades Union Congress are also present to testify to the heartiness with which the movement is supported by our workingmen's organizations. But with such general expressions of opinion from all classes of our countrymen in favor of a treaty of arbitration between the two nations, the question naturally arises, why a proposal to that effect was not made by the signatories in our Parliament. To such question we reply that the Government of the United States, being free from the Old World broils and complications, is of all governments most favorably circumstanced for taking the initiative. No suspicion of ulterior designs or unworthy motives could attach to a proposal from you, or your Congress, besides, as several members of Congress have already introduced bills upon the subject, which bills have been referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs; it would have been ungracious and discourteous on our part to attempt to deprive these Congressmen, who have initiated such a glorious movement, of their justly earned laurels.

✓ "For the present we have limited our efforts to the two English speaking nations, because by attempting too much, we should multiply difficulties, and increase the chances of failure. We, however, earnestly hope, that at no distant date your country and our own will enter into similar arrangements with the other nations of the world. It now, Mr. President, only remains for me to read and present the

address, to which are attached the signatures of the 233 members of the British House of Commons."

Mr. Cremer then unrolled and read the address, which had been beautifully engrossed by Mr. Knight, a workingman, and which with the original signatures was six feet long.

Mr. John Wilson was then introduced as representing the Trades Union Congress, and said:

"Sir: I concur most heartily with the recognition of the deep obligation we are placed under by being permitted to address you as the head of this great nation, and in the realization of the difficulties which meet us in the initiation of this momentous charge. Personally, I feel honored in being thus privileged to place before you the views of those who have deputed my colleagues and myself to form a part of this deputation. The memorial and the gentlemen who have preceded me have set forth the object we have in view. They have addressed you as Members of Parliament, and as representing an association formed for the abolition of war. We come direct from and speak in the name of the working classes of Great Britain and Ireland. In order that you may clearly understand the feelings they entertain on this question it will be necessary to explain the composition of the assembly which delegates us. In England it is known as 'The Trades Union Congress,' and it meets each year in one of the great centers of industry. It has been in existence about twenty years. There are a large number of delegates from all parts of the United Kingdom. The authority from which we come is not of vague expressions of opinion, but by the following resolution: 'That this Congress heartily thanks those members of the United States Congress who have taken the initial steps to secure the adoption of an Anglo-American Treaty of Arbitration; and records its satisfaction at the warm encouragement which has been given to the project by 233 members of the House of Commons. This Congress further expresses an earnest hope, that the deputation of Labor and other Members of Parliament who are about to visit America will be successful in their peaceful mission, and we hereby give to any member of the Congress who may accompany the

deputation, authority to speak in its name within the limits of the memorial.' This question is not new to the working classes. For a number of years they have felt the evils of war, and manifested their desire for the substitution of reason for its dread arbitrament; hence their readiness to join this delegation. Now, more fully than at any other period, do they realize the necessity for a change. The reasons assigned are not peculiar to their class, nor can they be charged with a lack of patriotism. They desire the prosperity of the nation, but are convinced that it will only be found in the paths of peace. While they recognize the general evils of war, they feel that as the wage-earning class lies at the base of the national structure, so upon it falls the greatest pressure, and the keenest incidence.

"Every war means an increase in taxation and, therefore, lessens the means of living to them and their families. In their opinion war is not only inhuman, but it is foolish and inconsistent with the spirit of the period in which we live. They believe that the resources of civilization, and the progress of science, are not to sacrifice, but to save life; not to spread desolation and death, but to do battle with, and to subdue the social evils and foul conditions of life that are found in every nation. The true object of a nation's strength is the elevation of its citizens physically, mentally and morally. Large standing armies and navies cannot co-exist with a truly prosperous, industrious state. Every war, even tho it be victorious, is a national misfortune—leaves behind it a legacy of hate, and is a confession of the failure of our civilization, and a disregard of the principles of our religious professions. In conclusion, allow us to express a hope that you will take upon yourself the great task which today has been placed before you. Greater work could not devolve upon you, or this great nation, but it is fraught with blessings and its results will be glorious. It could not have fallen into better hands. We are not coming to a nation which, while it professes peace, increases its warlike forces. You have shown the world that it is possible for a nation to advance in commercial prosperity with but a nominal standing army. From you nations of the whole world (and none more than Great Britain) can learn important lessons. You have pointed and are now pointing to many new paths, and today, in the name of the great mass of British labor, we appeal thru you to the people of America; and hope that we who are kinsmen in speech and religion may, as the



GROVER CLEVELAND.

Photograph by Rockwood, New York. Copyrighted. Reproduced
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result of this meeting, be bound in a lasting and blessed bond of amity, and that the other nations following the bright example, may join in the compact of reason, concord and peace."

In reply President Cleveland said:

"Gentlemen: The main and prominent idea so fittingly presented by you, and by the memorial you deliver, is a lofty and ennobling one, involving the preservation of peace with all its manifold blessings. These, as civilization has progressed, have been more and more recognized as the basis of national prosperity and happiness. And this reflection may well lead to surprise that peace has made no greater progress in its substitution for the wasting progress of war, as an arbiter of internal disputes. It is well that the minds of good and thoughtful men should now be turned to this subject and that a concerted movement should be made to supersede the horrors of war. It is well, too, that this effort should be made by the citizens of the two countries which proudly claim to be in the van of civilization and progress. The people of my country boast that they can exhibit in their prosperity and development more of the victories of peace than any other nation on the globe. At the same time our history demonstrates that we need yield to none in the spirit and patriotism which makes war terrible.

"It seems to me that a country thus demonstrating the advantages of peace, and at the same time having no fear of the suspicion of weakness, is in a favorable condition to listen to the merits of the case you present. And to my mind there is nothing more touching and persuasive than the part the laboring men of England have taken in this movement. They speak for their freedom from increased cost of living induced by war. Nay, more, they speak for their homes, their families and their lives. I cannot but think these are object lessons before the workingmen of America, which will readily awaken their sympathy, with, and desire for a condition of international understanding which shall alleviate the death and distress which war brings to their households.

"I am sorry to be obliged to confess that the practical side of this question has received but little of my attention. I am reminded, too, that in the administration of Government, difficulty often arises in the attempt to carefully apply ideas which in themselves challenge unqualified

approval. Thus it may be that the friends of international arbitration will not be able at once to secure the adoption, in its whole extent, of their humane and beneficent scheme. But surely great progress should be made by a sincere and hearty effort. I promise you a faithful and careful consideration of the matter; and I believe I may speak for the American people in giving the assurance, that they desire to see the killing of men for the accomplishment of national ambition abolished, and that they will gladly hail the advent of peaceful methods in the settlement of national disputes, so far as this is consistent with the defense and protection of our country's territory, and with the maintenance of our national honor, when it affords a shelter and repose for national integrity, and personifies the safety and protection of our citizens."

Altho no treaty of arbitration has thus far been concluded between England and the United States, a much more important result has come from this visit to America than was then in the thought of these bold brothers from the British Isles.

Undaunted by apparent failure, Cremer, the indomitable, appeared at Paris the 1st of August, 1888, and on the 6th of that month a small company of statesmen were assembled at the home of Jules Gaillard to meet him. He was taken to call upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and succeeded in inspiring the Frenchmen to act as leaders in what he declared was a great and world-wide movement, and which was sure to succeed.

233 The result was a circular letter addressed to the 234 signers of the American memorial, and to members of the French Parliament, requesting their presence at a joint conference of British and French Parliamentarians to discuss a treaty of arbitration between France, England and the United States. This

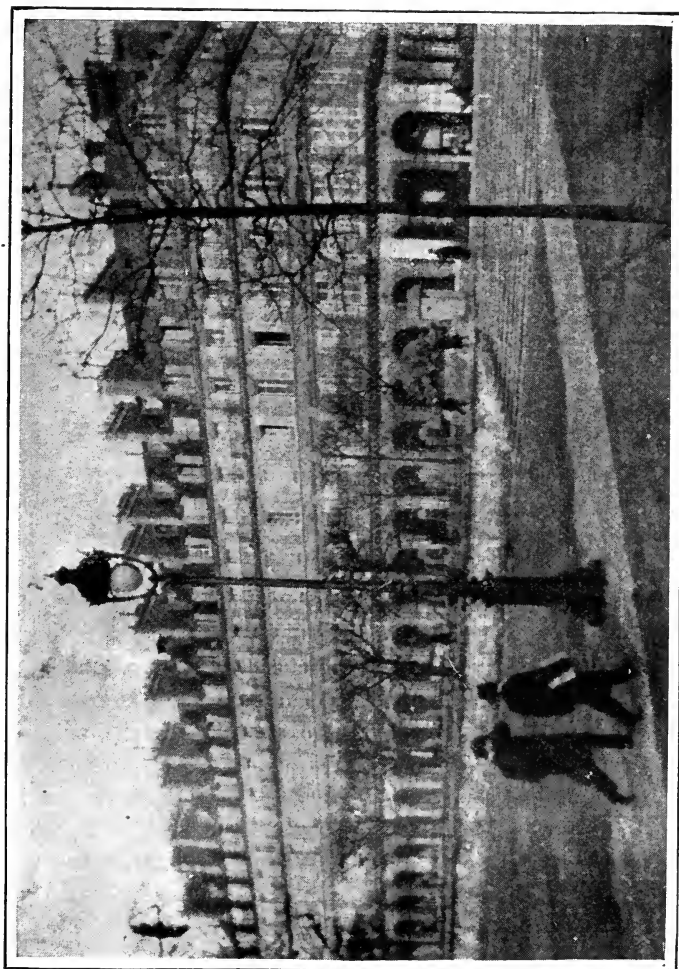
circular was signed by Frederic Passy, Jules Gail-
lard, Gaillard, Lolande, Barodet, Jules Siegfried,
• Montant, Sobatier, Lyonnais, Yves Guyot, Ferdi-
nand Faure *et als*.

Exactly one year from the day on which Mr. Cre-
mer was received by Grover Cleveland, he and eight
other members of the British Parliament were re-
ceived at the Grand Hotel, Paris, by twenty-five
members of the French Parliament, to discuss a
treaty of arbitration between England, France and
the United States.

As the memorial to the United States Congress
was the first of its kind, so this meeting created a
still more important precedent. The thirty-four
members of two parliaments assembled on that mem-
orable occasion decided that a second meeting should
be called for a day during the Paris Exposition
(1889) and that members of other Parliaments
should be invited to attend.

On the day appointed, June 29th, about 100 mem-
bers of various parliaments appeared, not only
France and England being represented, but also Bel-
gium, Hungary, Italy, Norway and the United
States. On the 30th day of June, 1889, Mr. Justin
R. Whiting, of St. Clair, Mich., the sole representa-
tive from the United States Congress at this mem-
orable gathering, was presiding over its delibera-
tions, when the following resolution was unanimous-
ly adopted, on motion of Marquis Pandolfi, of Italy:

"Further Interparliamentary reunions shall take place each



THE CONTINENTAL HOTEL, PARIS,

Where the Interparliamentary Union was constituted a permanent body on June 30th, 1889.

year in one of the cities of the various countries represented at the Conference. The next meeting shall be at London."

Several of the men who took part in this memorable conference are still active in the public affairs of England and France.

Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Burt and several more of the nine Englishmen are in Parliament. Jules Simon, who concluded peace between France and Germany, was among the French contingent. So were Frederic Passy and M. Bourgeois, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris.

The resolution to hold periodical conferences was the vital act of that assembly. It gave birth to the Interparliamentary Union; that Union has begotten The Hague Court as its first born, and is to bring forth an International Congress as its second child.

The Continental Hotel, where this Union was born, has been the scene of many memorable events. Situated opposite the Tuileries and between the Louvre and the Champs Elysees, it has been a witness to those things which have made France notorious the world over. Mr. Cremer is responsible for the selection of this famous hotel as the birth-place for the Union, as well as for the creation of the Union itself.

After it had been decided to hold the conference at Paris, a committee of arrangements was named. Mr. Cremer was on this committee for England, and was active in the discharge of all his duties. He saw that invitations were received by all the 234

members of Parliament, in whose name he had made his move on Washington. He showed me some of the responses. Even then men with the prophetic sense could see that this was no mere dream of an enthusiast. One of the declinations read as follows:

“HAWARDEN, October 5, 1888.

“DEAR MR. CREMER—I have several political engagements at the end of this month, before Parliament meets, and I much regret that it is out of my power to be present at the interesting, and what may be historic, gathering in Paris, on the 31st inst. Yours faithfully,

“HERBERT GLADSTONE.”

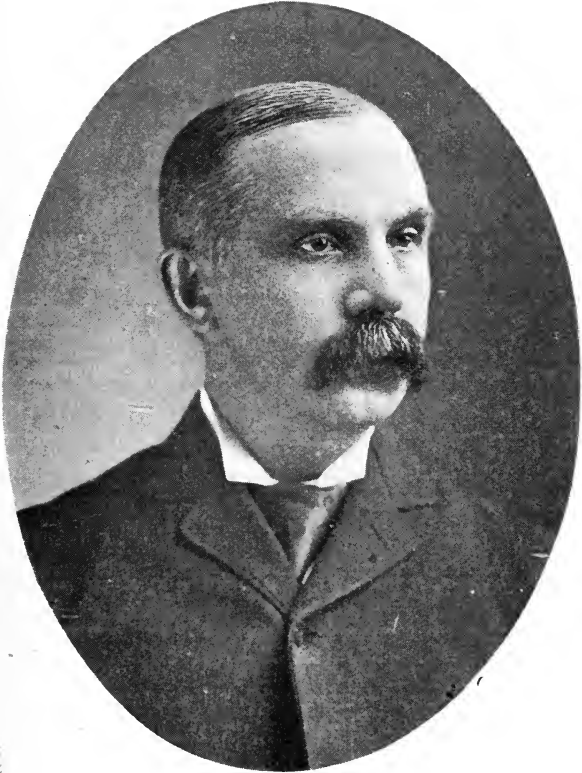
Having attended to all the duties assigned to him, Mr. Cremer was prompted to run over to Paris some days in advance and make sure that everything was in readiness. He was conducted by the French members of the committee to an out of the way and dingy hall as the place of meeting, and was assured that it was the only place that could be secured in Paris at the appointed time. He had been during all his life a plain man, from the common people, whose expenses were then and still are paid by his constituency, and nothing is further from him than useless display. But he instinctively felt that the place was unworthy of the event, and he told his friends on the committee that he would find a more suitable place. He looked far and wide for a place that seemed suitable, and ended by engaging the famous “Salle des Fêtes” of the Continental Hotel, the choice conference hall of all Paris. He did not let the question of money stand in the way. That seemed to him the proper place for the Conference,

so there was where it should take place. He occupied himself day and night sending out notices to those who had signified their intention to be present, advising them of the change of place.

As soon as the delegates from the British Parliament arrived, he explained to them what he had done and why; instantly they subscribed the money necessary to meet the requirements of the situation.

Mr. Cremer has watched this child of his grow, in stature, and in favor with the people, and in power. He has attended all of its twelve sessions, held at the principal capitals of Europe, and also the one which was held at St. Louis in 1904. He showed me mementos of its sessions at Paris, Rome, Budapest, Vienna, Brussels, The Hague, Christiania, Berne, etc. At each of these cities he observed new faces, representing new parliaments, in such numbers and with such rapidity, that what was once merely an idea in his mind is now a great organized power, containing over 2,000 members, and fast becoming an irresistible force in world politics. It is really an unofficial International House of Representatives. A seat in it can be secured only by inducing the people of your vicinity to elect you to their national Parliament.

When Mr. Cremer conceived this Interparliamentary Union he was regarded by many as under a delusion, and he had to endure much ridicule, meeting even with insult at the hands of a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations at Washington. That was less than twenty years ago.



JUSTIN R. WHITING.

CHAPTER II.

The Press and Peace

FEW Americans knew much of the Interparliamentary Union prior to its St. Louis session, because all of its previous conferences had occurred in Europe, and the press of Europe had not blazoned its doings in red letters, so that this light would be reflected as far as America. Having become devoted to the idea of a system of justice for international affairs, similar to that which we now have for our American affairs, I found *The Independent* an open avenue for the advocacy of this idea. On account of these articles I was invited by Mr. Albert K. Smiley to the Eleventh Conference on International Arbitration, held at Lake Mohonk House in June, 1903. At this conference it was my privilege to meet Hon. Richard Bartholdt and to hear from him the story of how he induced the Union to designate St. Louis as the place for its 1904 session, and the United States Government to provide a royal entertainment for the delegates.

In addition to arranging for the Conference at St. Louis, and a call upon the President, the Committee of Congress, with Mr. Bartholdt at its head, provided two special trains to convey the party as far West as the Rocky Mountains, in order to give them

a glimpse of America in its wide expanse of territory, as well as in its freedom of thought and action.

Having been authorized by Mr. C. J. Mar, manager of the Hearst News Service, to secure for him interviews with the leading delegates, I advised Mr. Bartholdt of this fact. He requested me to call on him as soon as he reached New York. What passed between us, was widely published thru the Hearst News Agency, and is reproduced from the *Memphis Commercial-Appcal*. In order that other members of the Interparliamentary party might avail themselves of this opportunity to speak to the people for the progressive plan, which was to be proposed at St. Louis, he invited me to accompany the party on its tour of the West.

During this tour I found that our leading editors had little or no knowledge of the Interparliamentary Union, but that, almost without exception, they were ready to come out strongly for the most progressive ideas, after a few minutes of conversation as to the character and possibilities of this organization. Everywhere the party and the *ideas* it stood for met with a hospitable reception.

This was a new experience for the Europeans. They are accustomed to meet with resistance when they attempt to go forward. Many of them now found themselves urged to go farther forward than they had supposed was possible when they landed at New York. They found in the press of America an aggressive ally instead of an enemy.

Indeed, the attitude of the American press played so important a part in producing the results which sprang from the St. Louis session of the Interparliamentary Union that the growth of this Union in power and prestige cannot be written properly without making extracts from our daily papers. It was difficult to select from a great mass of material, all of which was not only worth reading but worth assimilating. The following extracts reflect the mind of the American people and press when brought face to face with this unofficial International House of Representatives, and with the idea of creating an official counterpart to it, as a means of introducing into man's widest affairs a reign of law duly declared and justly administered, instead of periodical war.

On the way to St. Louis some of the European delegates declared that the reorganization of the Union was the most that could be accomplished at this Conference.

Upon the arrival of the party at the Southern Hotel, St. Louis, each delegate found in his mail a copy of the *Memphis Commercial-Appeal*, of September 4th, 1904. The following article was marked, and this was the first notice received by the delegates that they would be compelled to pass upon this proposition for attempting heavy work with the Union as constituted, instead of merely reorganizing the Union or engaging in academic discussions of war and peace.

CHAPTER III.

Arbitration Commission*

BY HAYNE DAVIS

Great Conference to Be Held at St. Louis Next Week.
Richard Bartholdt Tells All About It—Peace
Leaders Have Big Projects to Be Dis-
cussed—Want to Supplement the
Hague Tribunal.

Special to Commercial Appeal, New York, September 3d.

IT was a great pleasure for me to be the first to interview the Hon. Richard Bartholdt, chairman of the American delegation to the Parliamentary Congress to be held in St. Louis.

Mr. Bartholdt said:

"On October 31st, 1888, twenty-five members of the French and nine of the English Parliament met in Paris at the Grand Hotel to discuss the execution of arbitration treaties between England, France and the United States. The immediate outcome of that conference was the Interparliamentary Union, a body composed of all members of national legislatures who choose to become members of this Union. Once formed, it began to draw members into itself from various national legislatures. Seven years ago Mr. Samuel J. Barrows, of Massachusetts, then a

* Reprinted from *Commercial Appeal*, Memphis, Sunday Morning, September 4th, 1904.

member of the United States Congress, joined the Union; a year later I joined it; and until this year Mr. Barrows and I were the only American members of this body. I joined it because my abhorrence for war has grown in proportion to the growth of my intelligence, and I recognized this body as an effective instrument for the ultimate substitution of judicial proceedings for war between nations.

"The meeting of the Union last year was held at Vienna. This was the second meeting I had been able to attend. It seemed to me that nothing could be more appropriate than that its meeting this year should be held at St. Louis, where all the nations would be assembled from their commercial side, exhibiting to one another all the useful things which they have to offer each other, in mutual service. I was inspired by the occasion to invite the conference to hold its next meeting at St. Louis, and to promise them an official invitation from the United States and an appropriation by our Congress for their entertainment, trusting that my country would make good a thing which seemed so right to me. I was the only member of our Congress present, and our Ambassador to Austria-Hungary was absent at the time. The delegates from Denmark had an official invitation from their Government and a guarantee of an appropriation for the entertainment of the conference. After discussing the matter with the executive committee, I addressed the meeting in full conference.

"As soon as I finished my address a member of the delegation from Denmark withdrew the invitation of Denmark in favor of my invitation on behalf of the United States, and the Conference voted to hold its next session at St. Louis.

"I returned to the United States, explained my action to the President and Congress, and my country justified my conduct by officially inviting the Conference to hold its next session here, and by making a suitable appropriation for the entertainment of its members. They are arriving daily and nearly every Parliament of the world will be represented. The party will leave New York on two special trains as guests of the nation on Wednesday, the 7th, and will proceed by the way of Philadelphia and Pittsburg to St. Louis, where the meeting will be held September 12th-14th."

"What will the Conference do?" Mr. Bartholdt was asked.

"It will consider in a practical, not in a visionary way, many questions of mutual interest to all nations. And while its discussions are necessarily academic, because it has no authority, still what is said in these meetings has great influence upon the members in attendance, and, thru them, upon their nations. The call for The Hague Conference was an outcome of the previous numerous meetings of this union, and even greater consequences may be expected to follow from its meetings in the future. The question of bringing to an end the horrible war

in the East will be one of the matters discussed at the meeting in St. Louis.

"On behalf of the American delegation, the Conference will be asked to pass a resolution requesting the President of the United States to call on all the other nations of the world to send delegates to a conference which shall consider, among other things, the following questions:

"First—Those questions raised at The Hague Conference, and for the discussion of which future conferences were called for by resolution of The Hague Conference. There were several of these—rights and duties of neutrals, for instance, which are not clearly understood, as has been shown by the events of the present war in the East.

"Second—The execution of arbitration treaties between all nations.

"Third—Reduction of armaments.

"Fourth—The creation of a permanent World's Congress to supplement The Hague Court.

"Being practical men, the members of this Conference do not expect to abolish war at once, or at any time in an impractical way. But they do intend to take at suitable times the steps which will tend to abolish war. War between individuals was abolished by the development of states. War between states was abolished by the formation and development of a union of states. Just so, war between nations will be abolished by the formation and development of a union of nations. American States

would be armed against each other today if they had not been organized into the United States. Nations will arm against each other until they are all organized into a union of nations, rightly formed and rightly operated, with suitable legislative, judicial and executive departments. A union of nations is already in existence, The Hague Court being its judicial department. This union can be perfected by the addition of a legislative department, limited in its authority to international questions, just as the authority of the United States Congress is limited to interstate questions, without a single change in a single constitution of a single nation. Some day such a world's congress will be organized, and after its organization it will in due time acquire proper jurisdiction, and every nation will have due representation in it. The people of the United States are ready to join in its formation now, and some of their Representatives in Congress will take occasion at the meeting in St. Louis to propose its creation.

"Whether such a congress is born as a direct result of the meeting in St. Louis or not, it may be safely prophesied that some day it will come into being. There was a day when the English Parliament came into existence, there was a day that gave birth to the Congress of the United States, there will be a day for the birth of the Congress of United Nations. Such a world's congress with proper authority will naturally be evolved from the Interparliamentary Union. All that is necessary is to prop-

erly limit the number of members from each nation and to have them named by their nation, instead of self-elected as now, and then properly define and limit the subjects they may discuss and authoritatively act upon, instead of their remaining free as now to discuss anything they like."



CHAPTER IV.

The Press as Hostess to the Peacemakers

THE *Post-Despatch*, of St. Louis, sent Mr. F. A. Behymer to the Southern Hotel in order to learn what the Parliamentarians proposed to do at St. Louis, and on the following day—the eve of the first session of this Conference—the entire front page of this progressive paper was devoted to an account of the character and hopes of this Union of the world's progressive lawmakers. A part of this deserves a place in any connected account of this organization and its achievements:

STATESMEN OF EUROPE ARE IN ST. LOUIS.

TREATIES OF ARBITRATION BETWEEN THE WORLD'S GREAT
MILITARY POWERS ARE DESIRED BY DELEGATES TO
NOTABLE CONVENTION WHICH MEETS TOMORROW
AT THE WORLD'S FAIR FOR A THREE DAYS' CON-
FERENCE—CONGRESSMAN BARTHOLDT OF
THIS CITY IS CHOSEN TO PRESIDE
OVER THE SESSIONS.

Men of many nations are gathered in St. Louis to promote the "peace on earth" which the heavenly host proclaimed to the shepherds of Bethlehem more than nineteen hundred years ago. From fourteen countries they have come, to give their most earnest consideration to proposals intended to bring about such adjustment of international relations as will tend to ring out the old era of war and ring in the new era of peace.

They are statesmen all, these delegates to the World's Fair meeting of the Interparliamentary Union, members of the parliamentary bodies of their own countries. Men who are not members of such bodies, in other words, men who have not been selected by their own people as worthy to legislate for them, are not eligible to membership in the union.

They have come in the capacity of members of the parliaments of the world to hasten the coming of the Parliament of the World.

For three days, at the Universal Exposition, which presents the achievements of the nations during periods of peace, they will deliberate upon the best means of bringing about the uninterrupted reign of peace among these nations.

The executive board yesterday elected Congressman Richard Bartholdt president of the committee and of the Congress and he will preside. This is a fitting recognition of his achievement in bringing the Congress to St. Louis this year and procuring the appropriation by Congress of \$50,000 for the suitable entertainment of the guests of the nation during their stay.

The conclusions of the Congress are expected to lead to momentous developments.

It is certain that great impetus will be given to the making of arbitration treaties between nations, the first step toward permanent peace and ultimate disarmament.

A CALL TO NATIONS.

It will be proposed that the President of the United States be requested to call a conference of the nations. There is very little reason to doubt that the proposition will be adopted.

One of the definite purposes of such a conference is to open the way for the negotiation of arbitration treaties.

Another definite purpose, of greater import but taking secondary position because arbitration treaties are preliminary steps toward its realization, is to be the discussion of methods of hastening the preparation of the peoples of the earth for the Congress of the Federated Nations, corresponding to federated states—the world organization of governments, which is expected to bring about the era of peace, just as peace has been brought to warring states by federating them into one government.

Typical of the time when, according to the faith of the

peace-promoters, men from every land, speaking every native tongue, shall gather at the capital of the world, to legislate on international questions, is the assemblage at the Southern Hotel, the members of which will to-morrow begin their deliberations at the Festival Hall, at the World's Fair, which will be continued Tuesday and Wednesday at the Hall of Congresses.

ONENESS OF PURPOSE.

There is the widest diversity of speech, manners and political systems in the fourteen countries from which the delegates have come to the Peace Congress. Hungarians, Austrians, Belgians, Danes, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, Dutch, Norwegians, Portuguese, Rumanians, Swedes, Swiss and Americans are lodged at one caravansary. They mingle together with no thought of incongruity. They eat together. They also sleep together rather more than they would elect, owing to the exigencies of holding a Peace Congress when hotels are already crowded with World's Fair visitors.

With all their dissimilarity of custom and their variance of viewpoint, they are all actuated by the same impulse.

Their communication, one with another to the extent that they are able to make their communications clear, have to do with the things about which they are agreed. Concerning the desirability of furthering the making of arbitration treaties, there is practical unanimity among the delegates, it is said. Delegates from European countries are not so sure that the world is ready for definite effort to bring about a Congress of Nations. They concede that only in such federation is there substantial promise of perpetuating peace, but they are afraid that it will be difficult to bring it about.

Up to this time the United States has been singularly backward about entering into arbitration treaties. It is true that, through the initiation and persistence of William Randal Cremer, originator of the Peace Congress movement, the Olney-Pauncefote treaty was drawn, and it is declared to have been more nearly perfect than any that have since been entered into between other countries, but it failed of adoption.

The contention of those who are working for a Congress of Nations is that wars between nations will not cease at once nor at any time in any other way than as wars be-

tween states have been terminated by rightly relating them to each other.

The party will leave St. Louis Wednesday night for a tour of the western part of the country. On their return eastward they will stop at Washington and be received by the President. The tour will end at New York, September 25th.

The Europeans were surprised to see their ultimate aims so clearly and fearlessly portrayed, and they were still more surprised to receive an invitation, on the day following, to attend a luncheon as guests of *The Post-Despatch*. In Europe they had found difficulty in inducing the press to give currency to their decisive resolutions. Now they found themselves invited to partake of the hospitality of a daily paper, and even their hopes were acclaimed as worthy of being aspired to by practical men. This was a great stimulant to them. Some were disposed to credit their greater freedom of feeling to American atmosphere. Those who understood cause and effect knew that the American mind was doing its beneficent work.



CHAPTER V.

The Plea of the Republic for Peace

THE St. Louis *Republic*, in its issue of September 11th, 1904, gave a full account of the origin and growth of the Interparliamentary Union, and of its Conference to be held at St. Louis during the following week.

When the resolution to be submitted to this session of the Union was explained to Mr. W. A. Graham, the progressive editor of this paper, he remarked that it is impossible to play a game of ball without a set of rules and an umpire, and that it would be foolish not to recognize the same necessity in our international relations.

And on the morning which witnessed the convening of the Twelfth Interparliamentary Conference, the following editorial appeared in this important paper, published in the fourth largest American city. The record of the Union's first visit to the western world would be incomplete unless it included this convincing statement of the case for Peace:

PEACE AMONG NATIONS.

One highly important fact—the central fact, indeed—of the Peace Conference in St. Louis is that the members of this organization are all members of the National Parliaments of their respective countries. Any idea which impresses a member who attends any of these meetings finds expression at once in a national legislature. Men who are

practical enough to get themselves elected to the Legislature of their nation are generally capable of getting things done when they have become resolved. A peculiar significance attaches, therefore, to the sessions of this body, which is purely academic so far as international questions are concerned, but whose members speak with authority in the affairs of their own nations.

Since its organization at Paris in 1889 this Union has grown to a membership of over 2,000 and has been the inspirer of more than a dozen arbitration treaties and of The Hague Court.

There are indications that even greater results will issue out of its session here.

The Hague Court was given no jurisdiction, each nation remaining as free to resort to force in every controversy after the creation of that court as before. If arbitration treaties, binding the signatories in advance to refer future controversies to arbitration, are so drawn as to give The Hague Court jurisdiction, this would be a great step forward.

Most of the treaties recently executed in Europe are defective in that they do not clearly define the questions to be arbitrated, and do not give The Hague Court jurisdiction. The Anglo-French Treaty, on which most of them are modeled, reserves for trial by war all questions except questions of law. Questions of law which affect the vital interest or national honor of either party to the treaty, or the interests of a third Power, are also reserved for war. Hence these treaties do not bind the signatory Powers to arbitrate many questions, and it is almost impossible to tell in advance what questions will be regarded as affecting the vital interest or the honor of a nation.

A treaty fit to become a model would clearly define the controversies covered by it, and to Americans the less reservation the better. Why should there be any reservation? Again, the drafting of these treaties so as to give The Hague Court jurisdiction and right to determine upon a method of procedure for trial of such controversies as are covered by the treaty is of paramount importance.

* This session of the Interparliamentary Union will doubtless bring these points clearly to mind in the dissection of the defective treaties recently concluded. And it may be well that the United States have been slow to embark upon the business of concluding arbitration treaties. For we shall now be drawn into this movement, and when we be-

gin we shall do the business thoroughly. We may formulate a suitable treaty, not with one, but with many nations, so drawn as to give The Hague Court jurisdiction and permanently fix it in its true place as an integral, self-acting part of the world's judicial system.

A resolution was agreed on at the session of the Executive Council of the Interparliamentary Union on Saturday which will, in all probability, be adopted.

If the conference of nations which is called for by this resolution is convened and results in the execution of arbitration treaties which give The Hague Court jurisdiction, and in the creation of a Congress of Nations to convene periodically for discussion of international questions—even though it has, to begin with, no power to speak with authority on any question—the nations of the whole world will be organized in a union with the essential features of government, and it will be a mere question of time when both court and congress acquire proper jurisdiction. As the court and congress of the nations grow in favor and in power, the people will begin to recognize that international organization can secure to them more perfectly than great war establishments the very things their war establishments are organized to preserve—commercial opportunity, sovereignty at home and a voice abroad. National military establishments will then begin to dwindle away, and in due time we can count on the establishment of such a relation among all nations as we now have among American States. It is not difficult to see that this is the natural, the inevitable outcome of forces now operating under conditions as they exist, and as they will become when wireless telegraphy and other discoveries shall have done their work.

To practical men like these parliamentarians the question is, What steps can now be taken in the direction of these things? The introduction of this resolution by a man who is practical enough to have himself elected to our Congress seven times should strengthen the faith of the doubting as to the practicability of taking this step now.

We are sure we do not venture too far in saying that the entire press of the United States, without regard to party politics, will support the Interparliamentary Union in the advocacy of this resolution, will support the President in calling this Conference of Nations, and will support the conference when it convenes in every one of the purposes expressed in this resolution. No man who is

familiar with matters of government will fail to see that it is a mere application to international affairs of political principles which have been found essential to the general welfare in every existing nation. Nor will members of National Parliaments overlook the fact that there is no hope of substantially decreasing national armaments or of permanently establishing peace among nations except by organization; not imperfect, partial, deformed; but complete, perfect, symmetrical, covering all parts of human activity.

International organization for the declaration of the principles of law to be respected in intercourse among nations and for the adjudication of alleged violations of these principles of law—that is the secret of peace for nations, as truly as local organization is for peace among individuals.



CHAPTER VI.

The Declaration of War on War

ON September 12th, 1904, Hon. Richard Bartholdt was elected president of the Twelfth Interparliamentary Conference. Rising to address this Conference, containing representatives of every important Parliament of Europe except that of Spain, Mr. Bartholdt said:

"Gentlemen, I greatly appreciate the honor you have bestowed on me by my selection as your presiding officer, and on behalf of the American group I thank you. In calling the Twelfth Interparliamentary Conference to order, I bid you a cordial welcome in the name of the Congress of the United States.

"I note the gratifying fact that 14 different countries of Europe are represented here, and, including the American Congress, 15 different Parliaments of the world. Unlike other visitors, the 200 and more delegates, all of them actual members of national legislative bodies, have been attracted here neither by the wonders of the greatest of all expositions nor by mere curiosity to see the New World. They have traversed the thousands of miles now between them and their homes in the interest of an idea—on behalf of a great cause—the cause of humanity. We meet here to-day not as individuals riding a hobby to please our fancy, but as lawmakers clothed with authority by the votes of the people; and while we have not been expressly delegated by the people to serve the specific purpose which has brought us together, we feel that no grander service could be rendered any constituency anywhere under the sun than the service which would result in lessening the possibilities of war. We are pledged to render such service by creating a public sentiment, and by using whatever influence we may possess in the several legislative bodies to which we

have been elected, in favor of law and justice in international relations as against brute force—in favor of right as against might. In other words, we ask—aye, we demand—that differences between nations shall be adjudicated in the same manner as differences between individuals are adjudicated—namely, by arbitration; by the arbitrament of courts in accordance with recognized principles of law rather than by war. Are we right? Surely! But war will continue, they say. True; we can not abolish it any more than we can abolish murder by enacting laws against it. But is this a good reason why we should not make laws against murder? Shall the fact that the sword is still being drawn deter us from entering into agreements which, if faithfully carried out, will leave the sword firmly sheathed? Our skeptical friends know we are right; enlightened public opinion admits it; the cause of humanity is outraged by any other view. The goal of good government, after all, is the welfare and prosperity of the people, and it is because we know that peace surely promotes and war surely destroys that which statesmanship is supposed to strive for, that the friends of international arbitration urge the governments of the several nations to adopt this method of settling disputes, and thereby further the very objects of efficient statecraft.

Great and wonderful strides have been made of late years in the direction of a mode of settlement of international differences more in harmony with the demands of modern civilization. The Hague conference and The Hague Court, ridiculed at first by wiseacres and skeptics, are no longer the objects of sneers. Religious wars are, fortunately, horrors of the past; wars for mere conquest will no longer be waged, and calls to arms to defend what is termed national honor are being too carefully scrutinized by enlightened and politically ripe nations to be resorted to without good and substantial reason. Does it not occur to you and to all that the dogs of war are being gradually starved to death?

✓ "We want the great Powers to negotiate arbitration treaties among each other which will carry with them guarantees to the people of an era of peaceful progress and undisturbed development, and thus enable human instincts and faculties to exert their highest possibilities in the arena of art, science, and industry. We want to see The Hague Court clothed with jurisdiction to arbitrate each difference

between governments and nations and we want an international legislature to consider and agree upon a universal code of law which is to govern the court's decisions and will tend to substitute for international anarchy a reign of law and order, an era of justice and peace.

The government which will take the lead in this movement will reap the plaudits and blessings of mankind; the country refusing to join it will stand convicted by public sentiment.

I rejoice in the presence here of the chosen delegates of so many nations. Your presence, I know, will be a new incentive to the American Government to carry further the noble mission of this Republic, and thus rise to the full height of your expectations.

In order to give effect to the main idea in this memorable address, Mr. Bartholdt had prepared the following resolution, which was approved by the Executive Council of the Union, and placed on the program of the Conference:

It came up for consideration on the second day of the session, and the following account of the action taken by the Conference is extracted from an article entitled "The Historic Resolution of St. Louis," which appeared in *The Independent* of October 6th, 1904:

These representatives of fifteen nations included among their number noblemen according to the ancient standard of inheritance, noblemen according to the modern standard of power and character, lords and the sons of lords, workingmen, so called, and labor unionists, socialists, economists, educators, men eminent in art, science and all walks of life as well as in politics.

NOTE—The remainder of this chapter is quoted from *The Independent* of October 6th, 1904.

Few visionary, impractical or incompetent men get into the Interparliamentary Union by way of election to some national parliament. The dreamers who can win in elections are men who can make realities of their ideals.

Because Mr. Bartholdt was the presiding officer at this session, the privilege of presenting this resolution to the body fell to Mr. T. E. Burton, a member of the United States Congress from Ohio.

In presenting this epoch-making proposal to the representatives of the nations, Mr. Burton declared that the movement for the substitution of judicial proceedings for war is in harmony with the trend of events, and sure, therefore, of ultimate success. Holding in his hand the recent treaty between Denmark and Holland, by which those nations agree for *all time*, to refer *all* disputes between them to arbitration, Mr. Burton said that is the ideal treaty of arbitration toward which all nations are tending, even tho all may not now be prepared to take so radical a step.

After pointing out the need of a Conference of Nations to consider and dispose of those perplexing questions which were raised at The Hague, and for consideration of which The Hague Conference expressed the wish that a future conference be called, Mr. Burton came to the establishment of an International Congress, to convene periodically for discussion of such international questions as current events make paramount. He said these questions

are assuming such great importance that a full and free discussion of them and of the means of securing amity among nations is essential to the welfare of every nation. And an International Congress in which every nation has representatives is the only way of securing such a discussion.

After the applause of Mr. Burton's very able presentation of this resolution had subsided, there was a considerable pause before any delegate addressed himself to the grave questions contained in the resolution. Then Count Apponyi rose. In a few remarks, as notable for their simplicity as their power, he took exception to one remark made by Mr. Burton—namely, that all consideration as to particular nations should be put out of sight and only the general welfare of all nations be kept in view. He said he was heartily in favor of everything else Mr. Burton had said, and of that idea also as a general proposition. But that there were good reasons why the United States should be specially kept in mind in the movement for international justice, contemplated in this resolution; special reasons why the President of the United States should be the one to call the Conference to carry on the work begun at The Hague Conference. Because the United States was the first to prove its confidence in that Court as a needful and useful part of the world's political machinery by resorting to it for settlement of the long-standing controversy with its neighbor, Mexico; and because the President, to his

own personal honor and the great glory of this nation, had induced the nations of the world to refer the controversy with Venezuela to The Hague Court, even after hostilities had actually begun; because, also, the United States is the great representative of democracy in the world, and democracy is peace, being government by the people, and the people having no greater interest than peace; and because this resolution calls for the application of the fundamental idea of democracy to international affairs by the constitution of a Congress of the Nations in which every nation shall have representatives, for discussion of those interests which are common to all nations.

When Count Apponyi took his seat it was evident that this resolution would be carried. There was a hush in the Hall of Congresses such as comes over an assembly when on the verge of a great action.

Then Dr. Gobat, of Switzerland, rose and pointed out that this motion was the heart of all their plans, because it led on to international organization similar to national organization, such as was seen in this nation, in Switzerland, in all the nations created during the nineteenth century. The political process of that century was the union of contiguous States so as to form one body with many members fitly joined together. The discoverers in the scientific world had learned how to bring these federated States into closer touch with each other at the be-



THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY PARTY IN THE HALL OF CONGRESSES.
September 13th, 1904, immediately after the adoption of the Resolution of St. Louis.
Photographed by Miss Jessie Tarbox Beals.

ginning of this century than the constituent States were when they were drawn into union with each other during the nineteenth. Therefore it is not Utopian to say that similar political organizations, on a larger scale, can be created: for instance, a United States of Europe, or a United Nations of the World. As a Court for applying principles of law to controversies between nations issued out of The Hague Conference, so a Congress or Parliament for discovering those principles of law can issue out of such a conference as is contemplated by this resolution, thus making more perfect the international organization constituted by the treaty of The Hague.

Such a general Conference or Congress of the nations would begin by meeting periodically. It should appoint a committee of its members to be continually in session, in order to see to the execution of its resolutions, to overlook the observance of arbitration treaties, to use its influence to cause the reference to arbitration of such controversies as may arise which were not foreseen or provided for by the treaties, etc. If the conference contemplated by this resolution can accomplish these things, our Union will indeed have initiated the movement for proper political organization of the whole world.

Dr. G. B. Clarke, of the British delegation, suggested the withdrawal of Sections 2 and 3, not because he was opposed to them, but because he thought the settlement of the questions raised at The Hague was all the Conference to be convened

would find time to accomplish, and the other two works could be undertaken by other conferences. He said The Hague Conference had adjourned without acting on the questions because there was not time for it.

His suggestion, however, was overruled by a few words from the Marquis di San Giuliano, of Italy, and Mr. Stanhope, of England, both of whom remarked that this resolution had been carefully considered by the executive council, and been still further considered by a sub-committee composed of Mr. Burton, of the United States delegation; M. Houzeau de Lehaie, of Belgium, and Mr. Stanhope, of Great Britain, and that it was believed to be acceptable in substance to every member of the Conference. They both emphasized the thought that if this were true, it should be adopted unanimously and without amendment, because in this way the main purpose of this body would most surely be effectuated.

The resolution was then adopted unanimously half an hour after noon September 13th, 1904. When the next question on the program was brought up for discussion, Capt. Duncan V. Pirie, of the British Parliament, moved that, in view of the importance of the resolution just adopted, the Conference adjourn. Count Apponyi withdrew his motion, which was under discussion, and Captain Pirie's motion was then unanimously adopted. Thus the most important and far-reaching political move-

ment ever attempted was brought out of the field of discussion and into that of action. This resolution is designed to bring Central and South America into the defective union created by the treaty of The Hague, and to take great strides forward in more perfectly constituting this union of nations. It is analogous to those crises in national life when nations were constituted, or when constitutional provisions of prime importance were added to existing national organizations. They affected directly a part of the world. This affects directly the people of the whole world.



CHAPTER VII.

A Voice From the Hights

WHEN the Interparliamentary party arrived at the Colorado State line, the United States ceased to be the host, and that honor fell to this progressive Western State. A committee appointed by the Governor had come from Denver to join the party at the State line, and to do the honors for the State, until the party sped into Nebraska, on its way to Washington, to stand for the accomplishment of the first wish of Washington.

The Rocky Mountain News of September 18th bade farewell to the party by printing an editorial and a news item, from which the following are extracted:

"Typical Colorado hospitality was dispensed with characteristic Western prodigality thruout the sojourn of the visitors.

"Early yesterday morning the guests were up and about. At 8.30 o'clock one detachment of the party left for a run over the Moffat road, while another went to Fort Collins to inspect the State Agricultural College.

"William J. Bryan joined the party in Denver and was a member of the Moffat excursion.

"One of the interesting incidents of the visit of the

peace delegates to Denver was their attention to Mr. Bryan. The remarkable interest which the foreigners displayed in the great commoner was a theme for general comment by the members of the Denver reception committee and the railroad men who accompanied the delegates on the trip over the Moffat road yesterday.

"When Mr. Bryan reached the Moffat depot yesterday he was recognized by several of the party, some of whom he had met in Paris last winter, while on his European tour. Instantly the Nebraskan was the center of attention. The foreigners crowded about him, eager to greet him and exchange a word.

"I noticed,' one of the Moffat road officials said yesterday, 'that the foreigners appeared to be as interested in Bryan as are his own followers in this country. It was a unique sight to me to see these men from foreign lands, who have not the slightest interest in our politics, crowding about Bryan as Americans do.'"

"While at Mammoth Mr. Bryan responded to an invitation to deliver an address.

"Mr. Bryan was in his best vein and happiest mood, and spoke with extreme pleasure of being present at such a gathering in the heart of the Rocky Mountains. As a number of his auditors could not understand English, Dr. A. Bourquin, French consul at Denver, interpreted the speech as it was delivered, and in this manner all heard and understood. Mr. Bryan would speak a sentence and Dr. Bourquin would interpret it.

"Mr. Bryan was loudly cheered at the conclusion of his remarks. This is what he said:

"MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—I would have preferred to meet you in my own State, Nebraska, which lies upon the mountain slope to the east of us. You pass through that State tomorrow, and I hope that it will impress you as favorably as it impressed me when I first beheld it, an impression that has remained to this day. But next to Nebraska, I do not know of a better place to meet you than in the mountain State of Colorado. I say this, not only because the people of this State have been very kind to me and deeply interested in the principles for which I have been contending, but also because Denver, the queen of the mountains, is, in my judgment, the most beautiful city of its size in the world. When you have seen the city, as you will see it this afternoon, I am sure that you will agree with me.

"But there is still another reason why I am glad to meet the friends of peace here. There is an inspiration about the mountains, and from the days of Sinai much law has come down to us from the hights.

"Meeting you at this altitude, I am reminded of a passage in the Old Testament. When Elijah was discouraged and thought that few were left to join him in worship, the Lord commanded him to stand upon the mountain, and a great wind was made to sweep by him, but God was not in the wind. The lightning was made to play about him, but God was not in the lightning. The thunder was made to roar above him, but God was not in the thunder. Then came a still, small voice, and it was the voice of God.

"Today when great nations are borne down with mighty armaments; today when increasing fleets and larger armies are to be seen; today when the lovers of peace find so much to discourage them, those who stand upon the hights are learning that justice is not in the navies that sweep the ocean, nor in the lightning that flashes from the musket's mouth, nor yet in the roar of cannon, but in the still, small voice that issues forth from tribunals such as you desire to establish throughout the earth.

"When contests are decided by physical force and upon the battlefield the strongest nation is the victor; but when reason shall be substituted for force and arbitration for armies, nations may enter into honorable rivalry with the stronger ones and by being best become the greatest.

"Man is a three-fold being; he has a body, a mind and a heart. When war determines the destiny of nations, the contest is upon the lowest possible plane. You who are promoting peace are endeavoring to lift the contest to a higher plane and make it an intellectual struggle rather than a physical one. But there is still a higher plane. In contests of minds, men and nations may overreach each other. Let us hope that, after leaving the battlefield, we may push upward through intellectual contests to that moral plane where the object will be not to do each other harm but to help each other.

"Carlyle, in closing his story of the French Revolution, declared that thought is more powerful than artillery—that thought at last molds the world like soft clay, and then he adds that there was never a wise head that did not have behind it a generous heart. Carlyle thus sets forth the true relation that exists between the body, the mind and the heart. Thought is stronger than armies and in the end will win against armaments, but greater than thought is love, and love is characteristic of the heart. There can be no permanent peace that does not rest upon justice, and justice is impossible until all hearts are so filled with love that we can recognize the rights of others and do our duty toward them.

"It has given me great pleasure to meet you, the distinguished representatives of so many nations. I find that I can agree with some of the English representatives upon the tariff question; I find that I can agree with Dr. Otto Arndt, the eminent German bi-metalist, upon the money question; I can agree with the representatives of France upon many questions of government, and I can appreciate the services rendered the world by little Switzerland, and, in common with you all, I desire to contribute toward the establishment of universal peace.

"All the nations of the world have brought us valuable lessons and have contributed much to our greatness through the sons and daughters they have sent to us.

"America should be foremost in the work in which you are enlisted, for she is connected by ties of blood with all the nations of the Old World, and those who have made this their adopted home are in a position to send their relatives across the sea news of every good word and work.

"Carry back to your friends in Europe the greetings of the new world and say to them that the people of America,

instead of desiring to excite fear by physical force, aspire to a moral grandeur that will draw forth admiration and esteem.

"I thank you for the opportunity to share with you the pleasures of this day and for the encouragement that your presence brings to us."

THE MOVEMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

(Editorial from Rocky Mountain News.)

The presence in Denver of a large number of the delegates who have been in attendance upon the World's Fair session of the Interparliamentary Union is cause for general congratulation.

This organization has been the most distinctly influential force in existence for the furtherance of international arbitration. The Hague tribunal was planned by the Interparliamentary Union several years before the Czar took up the idea. In 1894, at a conference of the Union held in Holland, a declaration was made in favor of a permanent court of arbitration, and subsequently a commission of six members, appointed at that time, submitted a well-developed plan for such a court. This was a gain of five years in the preliminary work for the great Hague conference. Its perpetual agitation has, with that of similar organizations, still further aided the movement by keeping back of it a steadily increasing public sentiment.

The Hon. Richard Bartholdt, chairman of the joint committee of the Senate and House for receiving the Parliamentarians, gave out an interview in which he said that the conference at St. Louis would be asked to pass a resolution requesting the President of the United States to invite all other nations to send delegates to a conference, empowered to negotiate arbitration treaties, and to discuss the creation of a congress of nations.

Mr. Bartholdt gave cogent reasons why the United States should be the nation to take the initiative in thus perfecting, in its likeness, the existing union of nations, and why the meeting of this conference at St. Louis is the critical time for practical action in this direction.

Such action, we understand, was taken substantially during the St. Louis meeting, and if results in accordance with the plans follow, history will have few more crucial events to record.

Secretary Loomis, in welcoming the delegates, called at-

tention to the fact that America has been a party to seventy of the two hundred (approximately) cases of arbitration in the solution of international difficulties during the past one hundred years. The most notable of these was the treaty negotiated in Washington in 1871 providing for four arbitrations. Of this Mr. John Morley says:

"The treaty of Washington and the Geneva arbitration stand out as the most notable international feature of the nineteenth century of the noble art of preventive diplomacy, and the most signal instance in their history of self-command in two or three chief democratic powers of the Western World."

It is significant that this treaty was made under the administration of General Grant, a man who loved peace the better because he knew war so well. It may be well to remember in this connection the words of Grant toward the close of his life:

"Though educated a soldier," he said, "and though I have gone through two wars, I have always been a man of peace, preferring to see questions of differences settled by arbitration. It has been my misfortune to be engaged in more battles than any other American general, but there was never a time during my command when I would not have chosen some settlement by reason, rather than the sword. When the Duke of Cambridge asked me to review his troops at Aldershot, I told him that the one thing I never wished to see again was a military parade. I never went into a battle willingly. I never want to command another army."

The sentiment of Grant was akin to that of the first great warrior-statesman, George Washington.

In a letter of July 25, 1785, to David Humphreys, secretary of the commission sent abroad to negotiate treaties of commerce, he wrote: "My first wish is to see this plague to mankind (war) banished from the earth, and the sons and daughters of this world employed in more pleasing and innocent amusements than in preparing implements and exercising them for the destruction of mankind."

The noble body of statesmen now in our state are trying to bring about that which America's great first president urged as his "first wish."

It is well that the great peace congresses have come to America. They will revive the nation's dulled sense of the enormity of war and the active desire to be a mighty power in the cause of peace.

CHAPTER VIII.

Chicago and the Peacemakers

FOR some reason Chicago failed to make any provision for honoring the Interparliamentary party. It is unique in this respect. Every other city at which the party stopped had prepared an elaborate program for their entertainment. But the people and papers of Chicago gave the party and the plans a warm reception. *The Evening Post* of September 19th contained an account from which the following is extracted. Thru the assistance of Dr. Baumfeld, the secretary of the Austrian delegation, I was enabled to communicate with Mr. Gniewosz, and to have the quoted portion of the following extract from the *Post* ready upon our arrival at Chicago:

NOTABLE AUSTRIAN TALKS.

Vladimir Ritter von Gniewosz, Chamberlain to the Emperor of Austria, president of the Austrian group of the Interparliamentary Union, for twenty-five years a representative in the lower house of the Austrian Parliament, had a talk to-day with Hayne Davis, an authority on international questions and special guest of the United States Government on the parliamentary tour.

The distinguished Austrian said the action taken by the Union on the 13th instant, calling on the President to invite all the nations of the world to send delegates to a conference to consider the constitution of a permanent International Parliament, in which all nations shall be represented, to convene periodically, is the greatest event to date in the political history of the world,

"On our arrival at Washington," he said, "the entire body of our Union will present this resolution to the President. It will be a most memorable scene. Every one of these men has been chosen by the people among whom they live to represent them in their most vital political affairs. They know nothing which can so contribute to the welfare of their own nations and peoples as the carrying out of this resolution. Nor is there any political step which can be taken which will so redound to the welfare of all mankind.

AIM OF THE RESOLUTION.

"What does the resolution call for? It states as a fact that enlightened public opinion and modern civilization alike demand that controversies between nations be settled in the same way as disputes between individuals, namely, by the judgment of courts according to recognized principles of law.

"Can any one doubt that statement? How can controversies between nations be so settled? Only by constituting a court for the nations, by giving it the opportunity—the right—to judge between nations and by making suitable provisions for discovering the principles of law which ought to be recognized by the nations and applied by the court of the nations in the cases which come before it.

"The conduct and the words of your present President and the history of your nation leave us no chance to doubt that the President will rejoice in this opportunity for the United States to take its proper place in the movement to apply the political principles your nation is founded on to your widest interests.

"The greater part of the world has now accepted the political ideas for which the United States so conspicuously stands," he continued, "and the nations that have parliaments should gladly respond to this call. Those that have no parliaments should not hesitate to do so. It is equally for the good of all.

"As for my country, the people, the Government, the Emperor, are all for peace, and our resolution points the way to peace. The Emperor was asked by France in 1870 to revenge the defeat of 1866 by Prussia, but he declined to do so. The present war in the Orient invites him to act against Russia. He cannot be led to war by any of these things. He is for peace and for the practical ways of securing peace, such as our resolution outlines."



VLADIMIR RITTER VON OLEKSON GNIEWOSZ.
Chamberlain to the Emperor of Austria.

CHAPTER IX.

Mr. Cremer's Prevision

ON the cars between Buffalo and Washington City I had an opportunity to discuss thoroughly with Mr. Cremer the coming event at Washington. We were up until after midnight in going carefully over my memorandum of what passed between us, every word of which was weighed by Mr. Cremer, and some important alterations suggested by him. At the Hotel Arlington, on the morning of the 23d of September, I handed this interview to a reporter of the *Evening Star*, together with an oral explanation of the events at St. Louis and on the route.

That afternoon the interview appeared in the *Star*, just as approved by Mr. Cremer, and it is here reproduced:

"This Interparliamentary Union, and the magnitude of the movement it represents, and its recent culmination at St. Louis by the passage of the resolution which will be presented to President Roosevelt tomorrow, does not seem to be fully appreciated. This is the initiation, on a world-wide scale, of the great political movement, which resulted during the past century in the formation of nations, composed of autonomous States, like the United States. The carrying out of this resolution will do for the whole world what Runnymede did for the people of England, what similar occurrences, in all nations with parliamentary and constitutional systems of government, did for their people, and what the Constitutional Convention of 1787 did for the American people.

"No ruler of any nation ever was offered such an opportunity as will fall to the President of the United States tomorrow. He will be invited by the representatives of nearly every important government having a national parliament, to convene a Congress of Nations, which will bring the nations of Central and South America into the defective union of nations constituted by the Treaty of The Hague; which will concentrate the irresistible movement toward arbitration treaties, and result in the formulation of a treaty that will serve as a model, clearly defining what classes of controversies are included in it, and giving The Hague Court jurisdiction over such controversies and the right to develop an automatic system of procedure for the trial of such cases, thus founding it on a solid basis, in its proper place as an integral part of the world's judicial machinery.

"In other words, the President will be asked to take, on behalf of the United States, the next step forward—a great step—in the universal adoption of the ideas which your forefathers fought to make operative on the Atlantic seaboard of America.

"This request will be made by the chosen representatives of the people of nearly every important nation that has adopted in part even, for its national affairs, the ideas for which the United States stands.

"This is the opportunity for the United States to become a world power, in the way your great men desire, in the way the greatest of your forefathers foresaw and prophesied, in the way that the political history of the past has been preparing for, in the only way that can be permanently or beneficently successful. And yet press and people seem to be unconscious of the significance of this supreme moment in the world's political history—the hour when the world invites the United States to lead in the twentieth century movement in politics. This invitation is issued by two hundred men, every one of whom has been intrusted by his own people with the control of their most vital interests, on behalf of the entire body of the Interparliamentary Union, composed of over two thousand such men, all of whom have joined this union to work for the substitution of judicial proceedings for war between nations.

"The thing they invite the nations to do is simply a common sense application to international affairs of those principles which have been found indispensable in the conduct of State and national affairs.

"The presentation of this petition to the President will be a historic event, no matter how he receives it. It will be an event in a movement too great to be resisted by any man or combination of men. The forces back of it have overcome every obstacle in nearly all nations during the last century. They are all operating now, new and powerful forces have been added and the entire system of forces intensified by modern discovery. The President's issue of this call to the nations to assemble in conference, for the purposes named, will become a dating point for subsequent centuries, if the nations respond favorably, and the Conference does what the resolution contemplates. If the President issues the call and they fail to respond favorably he will go down in history as the ruler who first called for the constitution of a working union of all nations, for such a union is bound to come into being.

"The President of the United States and all politicians, who are at the same time statesmen or who understand political history, are well aware of the fact that this movement to a representative government coextensive with men's widest commercial activity is irresistible. Statesmen know that the organization of a union of states as extensive in area as this United States of America is only a beginning. For all nations are now nearer together than any six of the States were when the United States was organized. The organization of your States was the first step, the organization of your union of States was the second step and the organization of a world-wide union of nations, in the image and likeness of the United States, the third and last step in the organization of the human race into one body, composed of many members, fitly joined together on the right political principle.

"On July 4, 1903, the cable to the Philippines was completed, and President Roosevelt sent a cablegram around the world in twelve minutes, thus demonstrating that humanity has been freed from the limitations of time and space. This event itself foretold the coming together of the nations in that Conference which President Roosevelt will be requested on Saturday to convene. Let him send out the call of this conference for July 4, 1905 or 1906. Whether the nations respond and come to the Conference or whether they remain away in ignorance of the things that pertain to their peace, the President will have taken a place in history which every King and statesman of the world will some day envy him.

"Rhode Island did not deign to send a delegate to the convention which formed your Union, and remained out of the Union for thirteen months after Washington's inauguration. And yet the Constitution gave Rhode Island an equal voice forever in the Senate of the United States, almost an equal voice in the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States and in the naming of justices of the Supreme Court and the President, a voice in the lower House proportionate to her population and absolute control of her own territory forever, guaranteed against internal dissension and foreign aggression, by the whole power of the Union. Rhode Island sacrificed for these benefits, freely and effectually guaranteed to her, the right to obtain some part of them by her own military power. And there are now in the United States several towns more populous than the whole State.

"It will be fascinating to watch if history repeats itself. Who will remain away from the Conference, who will oppose its accomplishment of the purposes aimed at in the resolutions?"



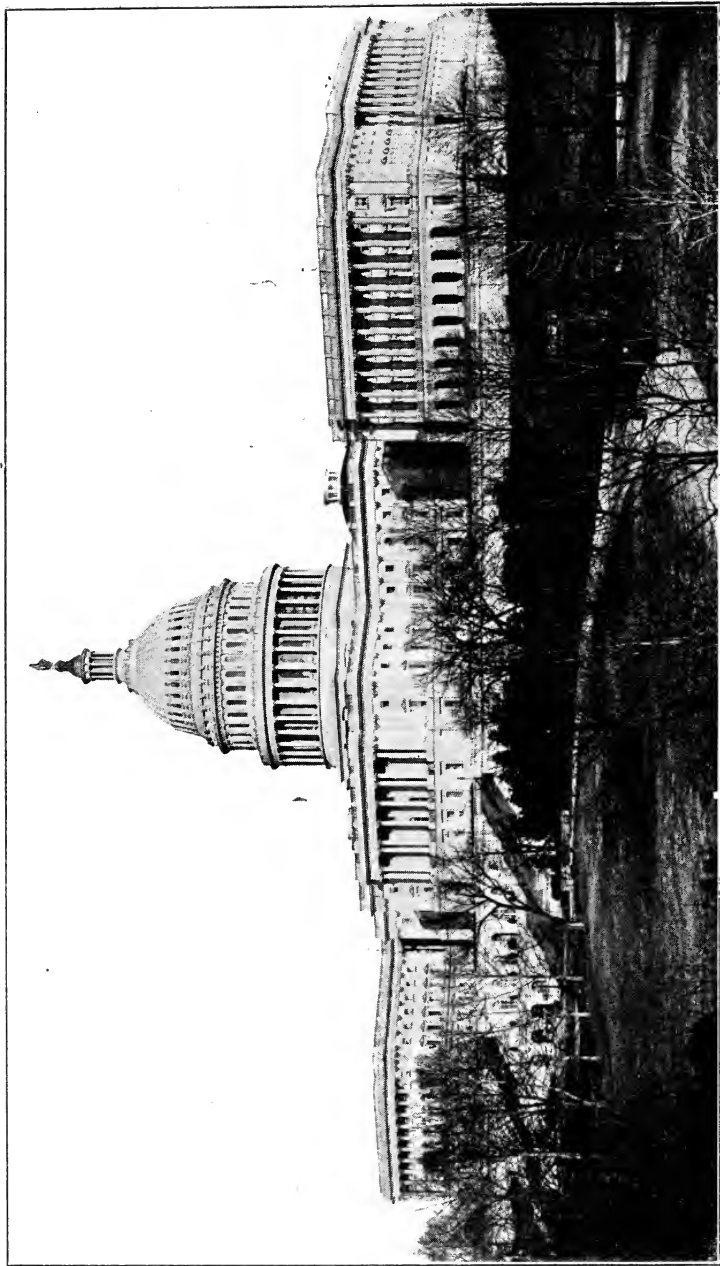
CHAPTER X.

Roosevelt Calls a World's Conference

THE Interparliamentary Union was never officially received by the Chief Executive of a nation until the 24th day of September, 1904. On that day it was received by the successor of Washington to hear its request that he take the lead in effectuating, on a world-wide scale and in a peaceable manner, those political principles for which Washington and his cotemporaries had to fight, in order that they might gain a foothold on the Atlantic seaboard. The *Washington Star* of the 24th of September contained the following:

In the East Room of the White House this afternoon two hundred foreign statesmen, all advocates of universal peace, presented to the President of the United States a resolution, which, by them, and by thousands of others, is considered to be the starting point of the most important evolution ever entered into by mankind. These two hundred delegates who were received by the chief executive of one of the youngest of nations are all members of the national legislatures of their respective countries, and by the presentation of this resolution ask the United States to take the lead in effecting a permanent system of arbitration for the world Powers, at the same time requesting President Roosevelt, whom they characterize as "a great friend of peace," to issue a call for a universal peace congress.

The foreigners referred to are members of the Interparliamentary Union, who met in annual conference in St. Louis early this month, and who are just completing a long tour of this country as the special guests of the Government. They are enrolled in the cause of peace, and are



THE HALLS OF CONGRESS AT WASHINGTON—TYPICALLY PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT.

looking toward a worldly millennium when judicial proceedings will take the place of war between nations. The membership of the Union is about 2,000, and is confined to men who are members of the national legislatures of their respective countries.

This gives the body a peculiar authority, and clothes its suggestions with dignity and influence. Each man is an officer of his country, holding the power given him by his people in elections, and can carry his fight for peace to the very throne of each administration.

It is perhaps in this point only that the essential difference lies between the Interparliamentary Union and the Lake Mohonk Conference. One is national in membership, the other is international. One is composed of any and all persons, either in public or private life, who are interested in the cause of arbitration, and the other is made up of men who are officials of the governments advocating universal peace, and who possess considerable implied authority to voice the sentiment of their home governments.

AN IMPOSING SCENE.

The scene at the White House this afternoon was imposing, and many of the delegates seemed to realize the extreme importance and significance of thus relinquishing to the United States the leadership in the cause of peace. One prominent member of the party explained that the United States was chosen because it could act without exciting the petty jealousies of smaller European countries. He said that if they had endeavored to place the initiative with any European country, the result undoubtedly would have been directly opposite from that desired, namely, war instead of peace.

Representative Richard Bartholdt, who is president of the Interparliamentary Union for 1904, presented the party to the President.

Mr. Bartholdt said:

"Mr. President: I have the honor, as president of the Interparliamentary Union, to present to you the delegates of that organization who have attended the Twelfth Conference for the promotion of international arbitration, recently held at St. Louis, the first of its kind in the United States, and who are now about to return to their European homes after a tour of part of our great country, which

they have made as guests of the nation and upon the special invitation of the Congress of the United States.

"Fourteen different countries of Europe and, including the American Congress, fifteen parliaments of the world are represented here by actual bearers of mandates from the people to pay their respects to you, sir, and to advise you of the purpose of their noble mission.

"The Interparliamentary Union which they represent is composed of members of national legislative bodies who believe that peace between the several nations is just as desirable as peace between individuals of one and the same nation, and that peace can be secured and maintained by exactly the same means, namely, by arbitration. They hold, in other words, that differences between nations can and should be settled by the arbitrament of an international tribunal, the same as differences between individuals in all civilized countries are now settled by the arbitrament of local courts.

"If I were permitted, on behalf of my colleagues, to further accentuate this belief, I would express it in this way: The necessity of social order requires a citizen to bow to the adjudication of the differences with his neighbor by a court of law, even when his personal honor is involved. The members of this Union contend that the interests of civilization and humanity should impel each nation to do the same, no matter what may be involved, because moral, as well as material, rights will much more safely be vindicated by the impartial verdict of applied justice than by the results of the passionate and often blind employment of physical force. What is law for an individual should be law for a nation.

GROWTH OF THE UNION.

"On this platform the Interparliamentary Union has grown from a small gathering of well-meaning friends of arbitration to a powerful organization, exerting its influence in all parliaments of the civilized world, the reason of its growth being, possibly, that its aims and objects are right. This organization looks upon you, Mr. President, as a friend of its cause, ever since you have, by actual performance, recognized The Hague Court and had referred to it the Venezuela controversy, though you had yourself been asked to arbitrate. It is now generally admitted that this your action, together with the Pius fund precedent,

which also occurred under your administration, saved the life of that great international tribunal. The American people being committed by these and many other precedents to the principles of international arbitration, it is the belief of those present that the people, irrespective of party, would applaud your taking the initiative in the convening of a second conference of governments which, we hope and trust, would result in the completion of the work begun at The Hague, in the negotiation of further arbitration treaties, and in the establishment of an international parliament for the consideration of questions which are of common concern to all.

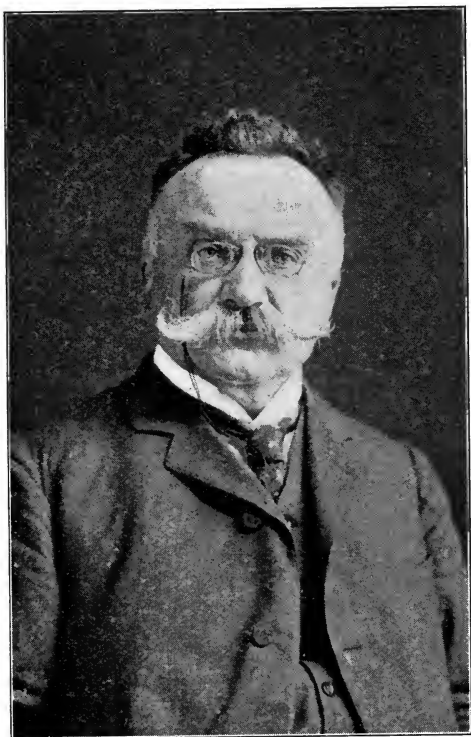
"I now have the honor to introduce to you Dr. Albert Gobat, of Switzerland, the general secretary of the Interparliamentary Union, who will formally present to you the resolution bearing on this subject."

THE RESOLUTION PRESENTED.

Dr. Gobat followed immediately, speaking in French.

"Mr. President," said Dr. Gobat, "I appear before you as the spokesman of the Interparliamentary Union, and have the honor to place in your hands a resolution adopted by that association at the conference it has just held at St. Louis. When we recorded in 1891 at Rome our desire that there should be at an early date a conference of all the civilized states, we had no idea that our initiative would be so soon carried into effect, for ideas move slowly, especially in Europe, and so The Hague Conference brought a most pleasant surprise to all the friends of international harmony. The first Congress of Nations, in spite of the difficulties it had to overcome, achieved very gratifying results, for it brought forth three conventions, of which one—that concerning the peaceful settlement of international disputes—is supremely important.

"The Hague Conference, unfortunately, had to postpone several questions it had intended to discuss, particularly the most important one of all, especially for Europe, that concerning the limitation of armaments. Five years have since elapsed, and no one has thought of calling a second conference of the states, the new conference that The Hague Convention of July 19th, 1899, had itself provided for. The Interparliamentary Union, originator of the general Congresses of Nations, and ~~intellectual parent~~—a point now admitted—of The Hague Conference, could not



DR. ALBERT GOBAT,
General Secretary of the Interparliamentary Union. Recipient of
Nobel Peace Prize for 1902.

allow this important institution to lapse into desuetude. It, therefore, decided on the 13th of September last at St. Louis to insist that a second conference be called.

REGARDED AS IMPORTANT EVOLUTION.

"We look upon this institution as the starting point of the most important evolution ever entered into by mankind. It will at last embody the brotherhood of peoples, that community of the intellectual and material interests of nations that has always existed, but never, until this day, so imperatively demanded that it be recognized, furthered and protected. The general conferences of states will regulate for the latter that which has been regulated for private persons for fifty centuries; they will make international arbitration compulsory; they will see to it that treaties are faithfully observed; they will avert disputes; they will relieve the people of overwhelming burdens imposed by criminal whims. But in order to accomplish its duty this institution must also be made the foundation of a political organization of the world. To that end, the contemplated conferences must be periodical, and, if I may here express a personal idea, they must, during the time intervening between these general assemblies, have an organ vested with certain supervising, directing and executive powers. This will prove to be the first stage of an international political organization, similar to that which now exists in the United States and in my own country, Switzerland.

"The Interparliamentary Conference of St. Louis has deemed you, Mr. President, to be especially fitted to assume the initiative of a second general assembly of the states. This duty naturally devolves upon the chief magistrate of a country where a congress of states convenes yearly under the dome of the Capitol. We are, moreover, aware that in applying to you, we address ourselves to an earnest defender of international justice, and we bear in mind the fact that you were the first head of a government who turned the governments toward the permanent court of arbitration of The Hague. And so, with the hope that you will comply with the wishes of the Interparliamentary Union, and that success will crown your initiative, I have the honor to lay before you the resolution:

EXPRESSIVE OF THANKS.

"Mr. President, I have discharged the official duty with which I was intrusted. I venture to assume another, and feel confident that my action will receive the approval of all the members of European parliaments. We thank you, Mr. President, from the depths of our hearts, for having been pleased to join in the friendly invitation extended to the Interparliamentary Union by the Congress of the United States, by sending us an invitation in the name of your Government and in your own. We express the most sincere wishes for the success of your political acts, for your happiness and that of your family, for the happiness and prosperity of the United States, whose infinite horizon is equaled by nothing save the breadth of views and the spirit of independence of the descendants of Washington and Franklin."

The President responded briefly, and the delegates seemed well pleased with the result of their trip to the White House.

COMMENT ON RESOLUTION.

What they say of the resolution presented to the President today:

William Randal Cremer, the originator of the Interparliamentary Union:

"If the President issues the call and they (the nations) fail to respond favorably, he will go down in history as the ruler who first called for a working union of all nations, for such a union is bound to come into being.

"The President's issue of this call to the nations to assemble in conference for the purposes named, will become a dating point for subsequent centuries if the nations respond favorably, and the Conference does what the resolution contemplates."

Richard Bartholdt, president of the Interparliamentary Union for 1904, and who drafted the resolution:

"Controversies between nations ought to be settled by courts, according to recognized principles of law, as disputes between individuals and between our American States are. We have a Court of the Nations, on which all nations but those of Central and South America are represented. The resolution is for bringing the nations of Central and South America into the treaty of The Hague, and for so drawing treaties of arbitration as to make that

court a part of the world's established judicial machinery, and for the periodical convening of a conference or Congress of Nations to discern the principles which ought to be recognized as law by the nations."

Sir Philip Stanhope, president of the British group:

"Members of national parliaments find themselves continually called upon to pass on questions which concern the people of other nations, while these same questions are being determined in other national parliaments. This is a violation of the parliamentary idea in government. When contrary action is taken in two national parliaments the people are sent out to settle the difference by force, instead of its being properly settled by a vote of representatives of all parties concerned assembled together.

"The members of all national parliaments must stand for what this resolution calls for or they must deny the principle on which their nation is founded. How can they stand for a parliament for state affairs, a parliament for interstate or national affairs and for something else for international affairs, and particularly when that something else must be chaos always and war periodically?"

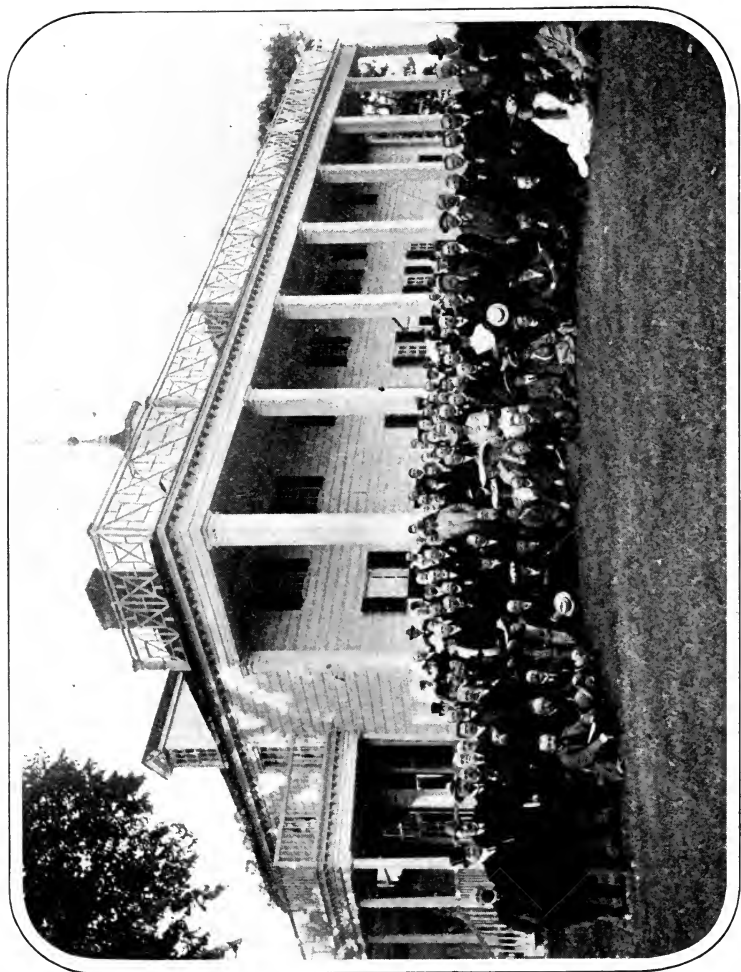
VOICE OF ITALIAN GROUP AND OTHERS.

Marquis San Giuliano, president of the Italian group and ex-cabinet minister:

"It is perfectly practicable to realize at this moment the assembling of the nations in conference to discuss certain questions raised at The Hague Conference, and for consideration of which that conference expressed the wish that a future conference be convened, and for the negotiation of treaties of arbitration, each nation with all others. And if the permanent parliament for all nations is not constituted as soon as desirable, it is nevertheless a great step that this idea was put forward at the conference at St. Louis and unanimously accepted by the representatives of almost the whole civilized world. The United States is the nation to lead in making this resolution effectual."

Dr. Tydeman, the president of the Dutch group:

"There is no Old World and New World, but one world, in which the United States is to be, is now, a controlling power. The work of effectuating this resolution will be a grateful work to President Roosevelt and the American people."



THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY PARTY AT MOUNT VERNON, THE HOME OF WASHINGTON,
SEPTEMBER 22d 1904

John Lund, president of the Norwegian group:

"The call for this conference has come at the proper time, from the proper place, in the proper way. The United States is the world in miniature—a grand miniature, indeed. Here all races and nationalities are found. If allowed to live its own independent life, according to its means and circumstances, Norway will gladly become one member of a worldwide political body composed of many members fitly joined together."

DELEGATES AT MT. VERNON.

At Mount Vernon, the trip to which was made by boat, the visitors were conducted through the grounds, and while standing bareheaded around the entrance to the tomb of Washington a very touching incident occurred. Philip Stanhope, the president of the British parliamentary group, entered the tomb and placed on the sarcophagus containing the remains of Gen. Washington a superb ivy wreath, decorated with cut flowers. A card attached to the wreath bore the following words:

"Placed by the British group of the Interparliamentary Union upon the tomb of George Washington, a son of their own race, in respectful admiration of his noble life and illustrious services to his country and to the world."

A representative of the Belgian group followed this graceful act by depositing a sheaf of wheat, wrought in metal, on the tomb.

The *Washington Post* of September 25th contained the following, in addition to the addresses which were reproduced above from *The Star*:

President Roosevelt announced yesterday afternoon that, at an early date, he would ask the nations of the world to join in a Second Congress at The Hague for the promotion of arbitration.

The occasion of the announcement was the reception by the President of the delegates of the Interparliamentary Union, who arrived here on Friday, after having been in session at St. Louis.

RECEIVED WITH APPLAUSE.

The President's acceptance of the terms of the resolution and the announcement of his purpose to promote the peace of the world by inviting all nations to participate in a second peace conference, whose work should be sup-

plemental to that of The Hague Conference, was received by those present with enthusiastic applause. The delegates cheered and clapped their hands for nearly a full minute, and at the conclusion of the President's address they embraced the opportunity personally and individually to congratulate him very cordially.

At 2:30 p. m. about 150 delegates to the Interparliamentary Union, accompanied by perhaps a score of ladies and headed by Representative Bartholdt, of St. Louis, the president of the Union, marched as a body to the White House. They assembled in the East Room, in a semi-circle, facing the entrance from the main corridor. Ten minutes later, the President, accompanied by Secretary Loeb, Col. Charles S. Bromwell, his military aide; Maj. Charles McCauley, and two or three military and naval attachés, was ushered into the presence of the distinguished assemblage of legislators and parliamentarians.

Representative Bartholdt introduced the assemblage to the President and stated, in brief, the object of their meeting.

Mr. Bartholdt then introduced to President Roosevelt Dr. Albert Gobat, of Switzerland, general secretary of the Interparliamentary Union, who presented formally to President Roosevelt the resolutions of the Union requesting him to call a second conference.

Mr. Gobat expressed the hope that the President would comply with the wishes of the Interparliamentary Union, and that success would crown his initiative.

President Roosevelt said:

Gentlemen of the Interparliamentary Union—I greet you with profound pleasure as representatives in a special sense of the great international movement for peace and good will among the nations of the earth. It is a matter of gratification to all Americans that we have the honor of receiving you here as the nation's guests. You are men skilled in the practical work of government in your several countries; and this fact adds weight to your championship of the cause of international justice. I thank you for your kind allusions to what the Government of the United States has accomplished for the policies you have at heart, and I assure you that this Government's attitude will continue unchanged in reference thereto. We are even now taking steps to secure arbitration treaties with other governments which are willing to enter into them with us.

In response to your resolutions I shall at an early date

ask the other nations to join in a second congress at The Hague. (Applause.) I feel, as I am sure you do, that our efforts should take the shape of pushing forward toward completion the work already begun at The Hague, and that whatever is now done should appear not as something divergent therefrom, but as a continuance thereof. At the first conference at The Hague several questions were left unsettled, and it was expressly provided that there should be a second conference. A reasonable time has elapsed, and I feel that your body has shown sound judgment in concluding that a second conference should now be called to carry some steps further toward completion the work of the first. It would be visionary to expect too immediate success for the great cause you are championing, but very substantial progress can be made if we strive with resolution and good sense toward the goal of securing among the nations of the earth, as among the individuals of each nation, a just sense of responsibility in each toward others. The right and the responsibility must go hand in hand. Our effort must be unceasing, both to secure in each nation full acknowledgment of the rights of others and to bring about in each nation an ever growing sense of its own responsibilities.

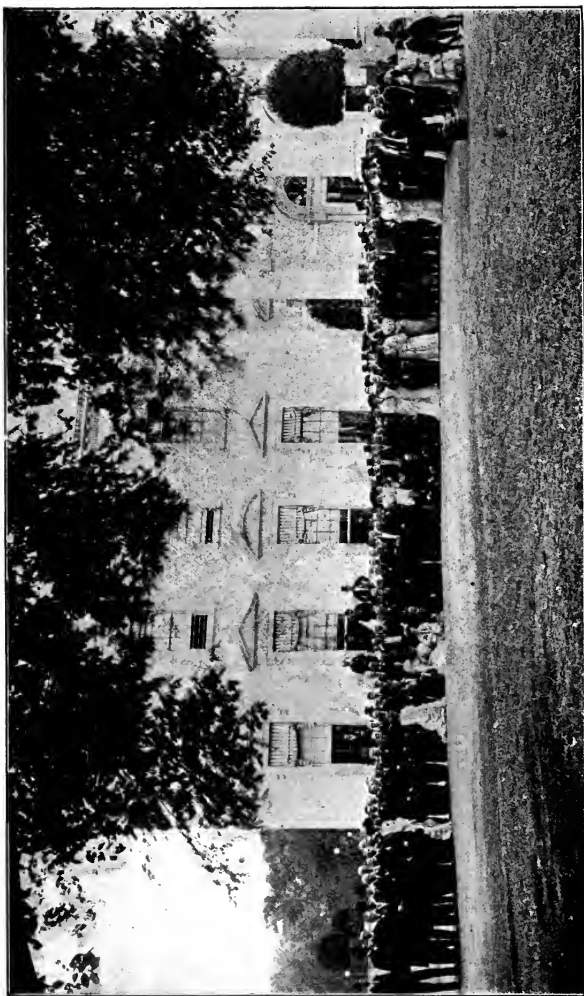
At an early date I shall issue the call for the conference you request. (Applause.)

I again greet you, and bid you welcome in the name of the American people, and wish you Godspeed in your efforts for the common good of mankind.

RECEPTION IN THE BLUE ROOM.

At the conclusion of the addresses the President and Mrs. Roosevelt personally received and exchanged greetings with each of the delegates and ladies present, the introductions being made by Col. Bromwell and Maj. McCauley. The reception was held in the Blue Room, the guests passing from there through the Red Room into the state dining-room, where a buffet luncheon was served.

After the presentation of the resolution to the President and the photographing of the Interparliamentary party by Mr. Taylor, the official photographer of the State Department, a magnificent floral decoration was placed upon the statue of Washington, in front of the Capitol, as a tribute of admiration from the entire Interparliamentary Union. This idea was proposed by Mr. John Lund, of Norway, and was unanimously adopted by the Union.



THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY PARTY IN FRONT OF THE WHITE HOUSE, SEPTEMBER 24,
1904, JUST AFTER PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT HAD ANNOUNCED THAT HE WOULD CALL
A SECOND CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE.

BANQUET AT THE ARLINGTON.

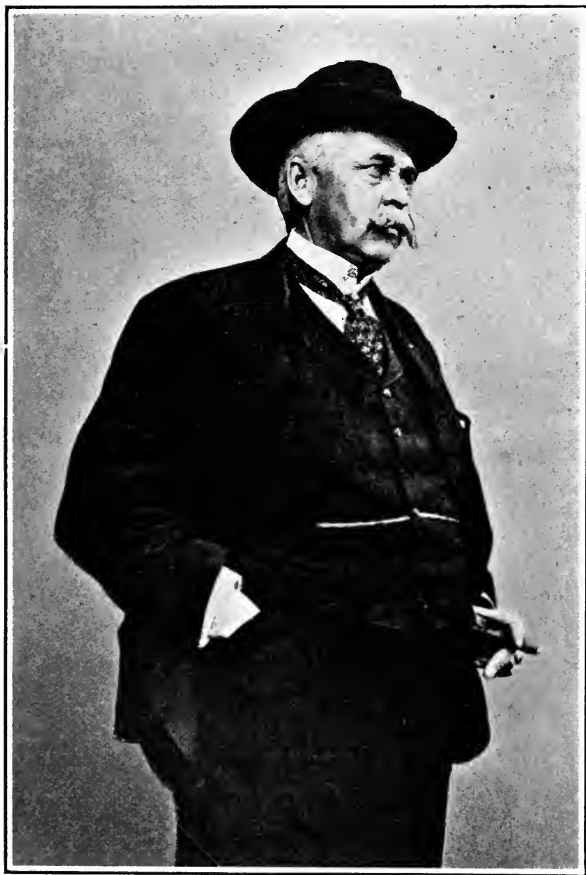
The last meeting of the Interparliamentary party for its twelfth session occurred last night, Mr. Armstrong, of the Treasury Department, representing the Government at the dinner at the Arlington. The thanks of the Union were tendered by Mr. Stanhope, of England, to Mr. Bartholdt, as president of the American committee, to the Government and people of the United States in the form of a memorial signed by all the members. He referred in eloquent language to the greatness of this nation and the unprecedented power the President's position had brought to the cause of international justice, the greatest power yet rallied to that standard.

Mr. Bartholdt and Mr. Armstrong responded for the United States, and then Mr. Bartholdt called on Mr. James L. Slayden to "propose a toast to the man most worthy to be toasted on this memorable night."

Mr. Slayden, in a few simple but powerful words, foretold that, at some future day, Great Britain will rear at the seat of the parliament of all nations a monument more majestic than any that now stands to the memory of her Wellington or to any military hero, and the monument will be reared to the carpenter and labor unionist who originated the Interparliamentary Union, whose resolution at St. Louis has begun a new era in the politics of the world.

The entire house rose and drank to Mr. Cremer, who was then called for until he had no choice but to speak. He alluded to the fact that he and a few others, one of whom was present (Mr. John Wilson, of Durham, president of the Miners' Association of Durham, England), in that very room, seventeen years ago, had met to present the then President of the United States a memorial for the promotion of an arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain.

Mr. Cremer thanked Mr. Bartholdt for his great service to the cause by being the sole instrument for the Union's having consented to convene this year in the United States, and for having drafted the memorable resolution. He made the amende honorable for the unjust suspicion, as it had been made plain, he said, that only the peace and welfare of all nations had been back of the action of Mr. Bartholdt and of the Government of the United States in their attitude to the Interparliamentary Union.



HON. JAMES L. SLAYDEN, OF TEXAS.

KING EDWARD ALSO FOR PEACE.

Mr. Cremer was almost overcome with emotion as he said: "This day is the crowning event of my life." Seventeen years ago he and a few others began to sow the seeds of what they were today harvesting.

Before closing, Mr. Cremer said that he believed the President alone might succeed in accomplishing the aims of the resolution by inviting the nations to assemble, as suggested therein. But that Edward VII of England, from the depths of a sincere heart, was devoted to the cause of peace, and was justly called Edward the Peacemaker, and that if the President of the United States, in the issuing of the invitation, would associate with himself Edward VII of England, the cause was won, without doubt and without delay.

Today the party goes to New York on two trains, one leaving in the morning at 11, the other in the afternoon at 3. Upon arriving at New York the members cease to be the guests of the nation. They will be entertained at luncheon on Monday by the Civic Federation, at dinner in the evening by the mayor of the city.

The *Washington Times* of September 25th contained an editorial on "Peace for the World," from which the following is extracted:

PEACE FOR THE WORLD.

The great hope of humanity is for a time when the peoples of the earth shall dwell together in fraternal unity. The best impulses are to regard war as hateful and unnecessary.

Members of the Interparliamentary Union are now in this country intent not only upon spreading the gospel of arbitration, but on getting the Government of the United States to take a leading part in the work which must mean the uplifting of civilization itself. Christendom is asked to take its place upon a plane toward which it has looked with longing eyes as ideal, impossible of attainment.

Nothing could be more fitting than that this nation, great, strong, and inspired by noble standards, should bear the white banner of the legions of peace. Like other nations, it was conceived in the storm of battle. It has had



MRS. JAMES L. SLAYDEN.

(Helen Maury of Virginia.)

Mrs. Slayden's father, James Maury, was in the military company which escorted Lafayette to Monticello upon his second visit to America, 1824-5, after our Union was formed and Jefferson was President. Mrs. Slayden was a member of the Interparliamentary Party thruout its tour of America in 1904.

to listen to the sound of contending armies, and with tears it has buried its dead. But it fought for honor, and they who had been its foes became its friends. It has no ambition for conquest. It has no enemy to fear. In its very solidity and preparedness it is immune from attack even if any reason should seem to exist for attacking it. It has risen to a dignity that gives force to its expression of desire. Commercially it leads. It is so mighty that it could make itself feared if it chose to do this, instead of making itself respected. Surely, upon it there rests a vast responsibility.

The purpose of the Interparliamentary Union is commendable. It would establish a world tribunal of wider scope than that of The Hague. Among other pertinent questions early to be considered would be the rights of neutrals, the status of contraband, and the iniquity of placing mines in the waters of the high seas. But out of this would grow a tribunal of arbitration embracing the globe, marking an epoch in the constitutional history of the race.

In the Union now are distinguished statesmen, representing every country of Europe save Russia. That government, having no parliamentary arm, cannot at present be included. But even Russia could not withstand the pressure indefinitely, and soon or late would submit to changes making it eligible to the grand and potent organization.

To William Randal Cremer is due much of the honor. Years ago he was moved by contemplation of the waste and horror of wars to try to turn the mind to other methods of settling disputes. Cremer has become a chevalier of the Legion of Honor. Last year the Nobel Peace Prize of \$35,000 worthily fell to him, and all of it was devoted to forwarding the project to which he has devoted all his energies.

History contains some towering figures, immortal by the havoc they wrought, the misery they created, the desolation that was left in their victorious wakes. The United States has had soldiers high among the captains of the earth, and yet one of the greatest of these was greater still when he had laid aside his arms and then came from his intrepid heart the deathless sentiment:

"Let us have peace."

Beside the triumph of a Cremer, knitting the nations into one kin, how despicable an Alexander weeping for

more nations to conquer, or how paltry a Napoleon rearing a temporary edifice on a foundation of bleaching skeletons!

The *Buffalo Commercial* of September 24th contained an editorial entitled "International Arbitration," from which the following is extracted:

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

Today, at Washington, the members of the Interparliamentary Union, who recently met at St. Louis, will call upon President Roosevelt to lay before him the resolutions passed at that convention and to ask his co-operation. The occasion is one of deep interest to men of all nationalities who are desirous that war should be restricted and arbitration extended as a means of settling international disputes. The delegates are assured that their mission will be sympathetically received by the President who (as one of the founders of their organization, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, has recently declared) saved the credit of The Hague Court of Arbitration "when it stood deserted, abandoned and ridiculed." "That act alone," said the Baron, "has entitled him to the thanks of all Europe for his pacific and liberal spirit."

The purport of the resolutions adopted by the Union at St. Louis is that another meeting of The Hague Conference in the near future is most desirable. The first international conference at The Hague accomplished substantial results, but it deferred action on several important subjects. These deferred questions, and others, the seriousness of which has been emphasized by the events of the Russo-Japanese war, call for early international consideration. It is desirable, as the American press has frequently pointed out, that The Hague Conference should establish rulings consonant with common sense and the spirit of modern civilization on such serious open questions as neutral rights and duties, definitions of contraband of war, the use of submarine boats and mines and so on. The Interparliamentary Union is strongly in favor of having The Hague Conference meet at stated intervals that it may be recognized as a permanent and available instrument for averting war and promoting peace and will try to have the Conference authorize the intervention of the Court upon

the application of one of two disputants as well of both, as at present.

When a second Hague Conference is held systematic efforts will be made to have all of the American republics represented therein. This is a consummation devoutly to be wished, for obvious reasons, by the United States Government.

The representatives of foreign parliaments who call upon the President today are gentlemen of character and distinction engaged in a noble work. They have been hospitably received in this country, as they deserved to be, and with the President's aid and sympathy there is ground for hoping that their meeting of 1904 will mark a good long step forward in the evolution of what is really the American judicial system to meet modern world-conditions and needs.



CHAPTER XI.

The American's Parting Salute

THE Interparliamentary Union crossed the Rubicon in its war on war when it requested President Roosevelt to invite the nations to assemble in Conference for the purposes named in the Resolution adopted at St. Louis. It becomes a question of the gravest concern how the press of the world will act in the period which lies just ahead of us.

The promise to issue invitations for a second General Assembly of the Nations was made on September 24th, 1904. The invitations were issued the last week in October. The election took place the first week in November. On the first day of November the New York *American* published the following editorial in big letters:

THE UNITED STATES AS A FORCE TO ABATE WAR AS A NUISANCE.

The circular note issued by John Hay, Secretary of State, under instruction of the President, to be submitted through our Ministers to the chancellories of the Powers that are signatories to the acts of The Hague Conference of 1899, is in effect a call from the representatives of this Republic of 80,000,000 people for establishing and maintaining the peace of the world. It is the most important international note issued since the Czar's call for The Hague Conference.

It is more far-reaching than the Czar's move, for its purpose is to take up the work where The Hague Congress of 1899 abandoned it and push it to its completion—the reach-

ing of an agreed system of international arbitration that will throw all international disputes into world courts of equity, rather than to submit their solution to a resort to arms.

Mr. Hay's note puts the United States behind all the peace congresses that have been held. These were the acts of individuals. It has remained for the United States to take up the work of the individuals and give it the approval and backing of this Republic, WHICH, IF IT EXISTS FOR ANYTHING, EXISTS FOR THE PEACE OF ITS OWN PEOPLE AND THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.

Hay's note rises above politics. It is not fair to say it is a play for votes. We believe that the action of the President and his Secretary will meet the approval of those Americans who want the power of this Republic in its relation to other nations used toward securing the prosperity and peace of the world. Human happiness is the end of all governments, and it is fit and proper that republics should work for the abolishment of all the evils that curse humanity—the greatest of which is war.

The call is timely, for the civilized world sees the absurdity and foolishness of war in the killing of the helpless Hull fishermen by guns from a fleet moving to a death grapple with a nation 12,000 miles away.

Following the Hull tragedy the *American* and all the other Hearst papers printed an editorial on "War a Foolish Remnant of a Past Age," in which these expressions were used:

"The firing on a fleet of helpless fishing vessels by the badly scared Russian squadron shows how absolutely out of date war is. War has no part in the civilization of the twentieth century. Strip the game of its gold braid, its blare of bugles, and get it down to the last analysis, and common sense will tell you it is foolish.

Two men fighting is war, and not different from two nations fighting. Peace-loving people make the two men quit. Peace-loving people should do the same thing with the nations.

War is foolish, and has been foolish since men began to submit their differences to courts of law.

After all, the murder of the unfortunate Hull fishermen, the victims of the supreme act of foolishness the history of the world has in its books, may not have been in vain.

It may cause hundreds of millions of men to stop and

give war a close study and abandon it as a piece of out-of-date, unnecessary foolishness, and then abate it as a nuisance."

England and Russia were at gun points over the Hull tragedy, and Delcassé, France's Foreign Minister, moving under the lights of The Hague Conference, steered both Powers toward a peaceful solution of their disputes.

If France's strong man can prevent England and Russia from fighting, it is exceedingly fit that the great Republic of the Western Continent emulate its sister Republic of Europe and move for the peace of the world.

Two individuals have a dispute and refer it to a court of law. Nations have disputes and fight. That law should become international in force and vigor and bring nations to its tribunal is merely the development of the spirit of the law between individuals. The two first men who submitted their quarrel to the law did it voluntarily. Nations must agree to do the same thing voluntarily, and then you have the world's peace assured.

Mr. Hay's note does not call for the laying down of all arms by all nations at once, but it is a move toward that goal which is the desire of all men who love their kind.

If the United States is to be a world power—and it is—it is far better for it to enter the field of world politics as a strong advocate of peace and good will rather than as another apostle of the torch and the gun.

War is a nuisance and foolish. The American Republic does well in moving toward its abolishment.

The editors of this paper advocate, and its readers applaud, these sentiments; they were published on the eve of an election, when some were saying the Republican candidate had acted insincerely. Their publication under these circumstances was more than a parting salute, therefore, to the parliamentarians from the American press, for it demonstrated that what is called the yellow press can be counted on to take a strong position in favor of the most practical and progressive Peace

plans, even when the other political party may seem in a position to gain an advantage from this fact on account of the existing conditions.

The parliamentarians will have no right to complain if the press of the world comes to their support as strongly as the *American* has already done.



CHAPTER XII.

A Signal Service to Peace*

BY HAYNE DAVIS

MR. CLARENCE W. BOWEN, proprietor of *The Independent*, has rendered the cause of peace a real service by the banquet he gave in honor of Hon. Richard Bartholdt, president of the Interparliamentary Union. The cause of peace is making progress when the proprietor of a periodical not only publishes the most progressive ideas of the peace propaganda, but invites the leading editors of the second greatest city of the world to meet together in order to honor and sustain the man who stands for these ideas in one of the greatest parliaments of the world. The distinguished editors present responded heartily to the sentiments expressed by Mr. Bartholdt. As these editors represent the American press, this fact gives great significance to Mr. Bartholdt's utterances. The people and press of America are back of them. And this dinner marks, therefore, the beginning of co-operation between the American Congress and press in advocacy of the plan that really makes permanent peace a possibility. Mr. Bartholdt said, among other things:

* Reprinted from the New York *American*, May 21st, 1905.
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"In approaching this subject every speaker finds himself in the presence of what Elihu Burritt termed 'A sacred principle worthy of the veneration of the human race.'

"When I say that individual writers and publications are in advance of what has been done toward establishing peace conditions, it is literally true, but the press generally has not led this movement for a peaceful settlement of all international controversies. And it is possibly due to this fact that no greater progress has been made since Elihu Burritt, more than fifty years ago, advocated in eloquent speeches at European peace conferences the establishment of a permanent Congress of Nations.

"The greatest achievement of modern times, the one which sheds luster upon the closing days of the nineteenth century, was made a reality almost without the aid of the press; indeed, despite its latent and in part active opposition I refer to the establishment of an international Supreme Court, The Hague Tribunal.

"This opposition manifested itself in the expression of doubts, in the questioning of motives, in the ridiculing of what were called theorists and dreamers, and but for the stout hearts of many of the delegates the first Hague Conference, called for the purpose of devising a method of gradual disarmament, would have been a lamentable failure. Instead it created The Hague Court, and this is proof of the irresistible force of the sacred principle, and which is bound ultimately to succeed because it is inherently right and is supported by every instinct of humanity and by the very conscience of civilization. Nevertheless, the friends of peace and arbitration, tho they firmly believe in the final realization of their hopes, crave the support of the press, periodical, weekly and daily, because they know that this powerful influence will surely hasten the ultimate triumph of their cause.

"Do not let us underrate the forces at work in this great movement. There are thousands of peace societies whose delegates meet in annual congresses; every church of every denomination is in hearty sympathy, if not in active co-operation, with the standing army of men engaged in waging this war upon war. At the forefront of the firing line is the Interparliamentary Union, which comprises now more than two thousand members. Each one of these members is pledged to use and is using his influence, in his respective circle, in favor of the idea that machinery should

be created by which differences between nations can be arbitrated instead of fought out with the sword.

"In 1899 I had the honor to attend the annual conference of the Union at Christiania, Norway. I found that the members were not dreamers, but practical men of affairs, who were striving for practical and attainable results. Here I conceived the idea of bringing the American Congress into this great Union, and of organizing a Congress of Nations by its activities. The easiest way to arouse sufficient public interest in the United States seemed to be to have the Union hold one of its meetings on American soil. In 1903 I went to Vienna, where the conference of that year was being held, but without authority from any one, and relying upon the proverbial hospitality of the American people, I extended an invitation to the members of the Union to hold their 1904 meeting at St. Louis, in connection with the great World's Fair. There were obstacles, but I succeeded. What followed is all a matter of history.

"I secured an appropriation from Congress large enough to royally entertain the visitors, the official invitation which they had asked for and I had promised was forwarded, bearing the signatures of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay. In September of last year about 200 members of European Parliaments were received by me and others in New York and conducted to St. Louis and the Rocky Mountains, and back to Washington and New York. In the meantime I had written what is now known as the 'Resolution of St. Louis,' which called upon President Roosevelt to convene another Congress of Nations for the purpose of negotiating arbitration treaties and of establishing a permanent International Legislature. This resolution was unanimously adopted, and when it was read to our wideawake President he readily assented to its terms, and, as you know, has already called this second Conference of Nations to meet at The Hague at the termination of the Japanese-Russian war.

"My hope of bringing the American Congress into the Union has, of course, been realized, and tonight I am happy to state that more than two hundred of its members have joined the Interparliamentary Union, forming what is known as the Arbitration Group.

"This is the story of the Interparliamentary Union. It inspired the Czar of Russia to call the first Conference of Nations, thus linking together and influencing alike and in

the same direction, the Representatives of European Autocracy and the noblest champion of Democracy.

"From this brief statement of facts you will see that the present is a most important and propitious moment. We are on the eve of a Conference of Nations; now is the time to speak out distinctly for a change in the method of settling international difficulties, and to evolve a method which is in accordance with the requirements of civilization. The American delegates to the next conference of the Interparliamentary Union to be held at Brussels, in August, and which will largely devote itself to the task of preparing a program for the second Hague Conference, will present three propositions.

"The first is to bring the Central and South American republics officially into the peace movement, and this merely requires the sending of an invitation, because these countries have really set the world an example in advanced action along these lines.

"The second proposition is to formulate a model arbitration treaty, in which the subjects to be arbitrated shall be specified, and by which jurisdiction to try the questions included shall be granted to The Hague Court.

"The third proposition is to fix the basis of representation in the Permanent Congress of Nations. The main thing is the establishment of an International Legislative body. At present there is no such thing as a code of International Law which is binding upon nations. What passes under the name of international law is merely a compilation of precedents, opinions, maxims and arguments. It is the work, not of legislators, but of scholars. The nations are at liberty, except from force of custom and public opinion, to adopt or reject it as they please. A real code of International Law cannot be secured without an International Legislature, a Congress of Nations, in which each shall be equitably represented. This, therefore, is the first and most important step to be taken toward permanent peace; wherefore I hope you will agree with the American delegates in their determination to lay special stress upon this part of their program. In my humble judgment it is the first necessary step toward substitution for the present state of anarchy in international society, a system of law and order such as we have and must maintain in our national society.

"We do not for the present advocate disarmament, because we propose our reform to reach from the ground up

rather than from the top down, being absolutely certain that a Permanent Congress of Nations and the general adoption of the principle of arbitration by the leading nations of the world, will be followed by disarmament as surely as the dawn of morning will follow the darkness of night."

The rest of the evening was spent in responses by the invited guests. And with the assurances of their sustaining influence, Mr. Bartholdt departed on his memorable mission.

We will hear from him later, and when the call comes, the people and press of the whole United States will respond as the welfare of humanity requires.



CHAPTER XIII

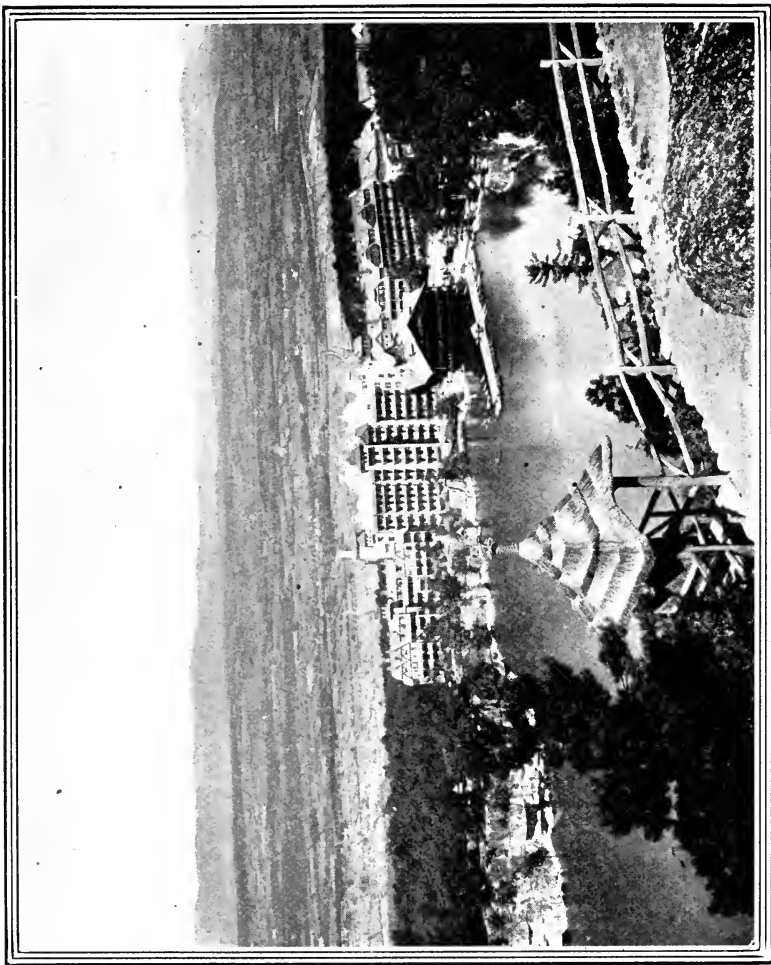
The Message From Mohonk *

BY HAYNE DAVIS

WHILE the greatest naval battle of history was being fought in the East a large company of men from all parts of the United States were on their way to Mohonk Lake, in the Shawangunk Mountains. They were coming upon invitation and as guests of Mr. Albert K. Smiley, who for twelve years has been interested in gathering together the friends of Peace and Justice to plan the campaign in our war on war. More than 350 people were under his hospitable roof from May 31 to June 3 this year. Representatives were there from The Hague Court, from the Congress, the Supreme, Circuit and District courts of the United States, from the Supreme Courts of nine States; there were two generals of the United States army, and representatives from thirty-two chambers of commerce. Among the cities sending representatives were New York, Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis, Cleveland, Cincinnati and Baltimore. More than twenty colleges were represented by their presidents or professors of law, political sci-

* Reprinted, with corrections, from *Harper's Weekly* of September 9th, 1905.

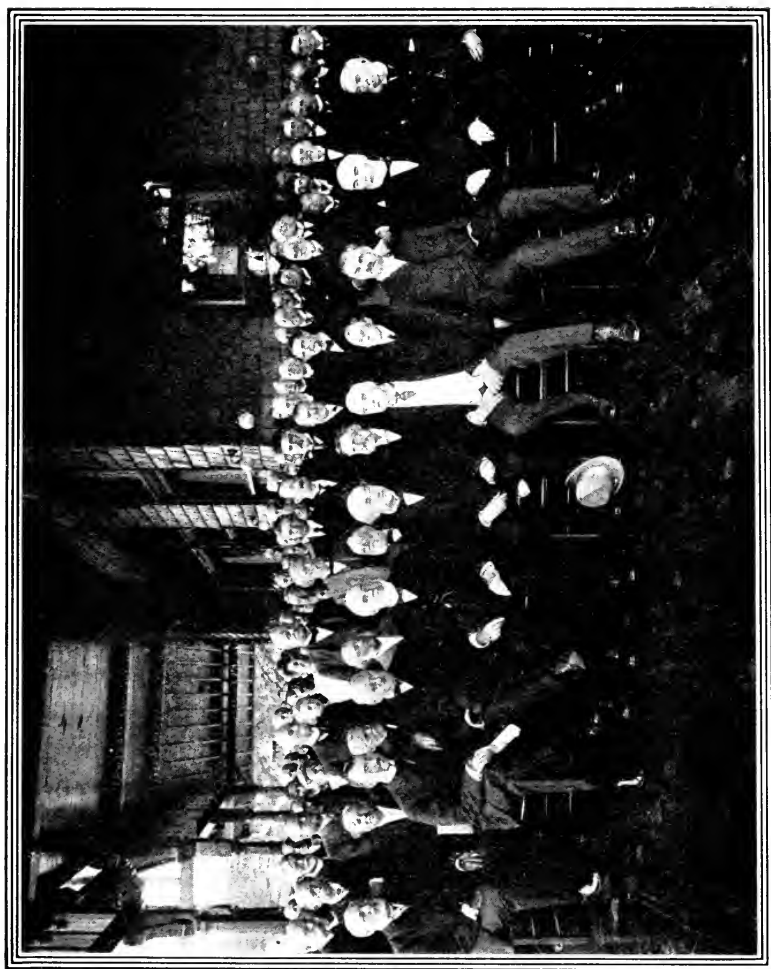
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ence or history; fourteen papers or periodicals sent representatives. The president of this conference was the Hon. George Gray, an American member of the Supreme Court of the Nations at The Hague, a circuit judge of the United States, and one of the arbitrators of the great coal strike.

In his opening address at this memorable conference, Judge Gray said we would be unworthy of the cause we represent if we were discouraged. From the moment that The Hague Court was established no backward step was possible. The time has come for realizing things which wise men and poets could only dream of in past times.

Mr. Justice Brewer spoke impressively of the "Power of the People of America," to which the State of North Carolina bowed recently. Turning from this American incident to the arena of world politics, he congratulated mankind upon the fact that every decision by international courts and tribunals has been obeyed without any international armed force for compelling obedience. Nevertheless, he declared himself in favor of the plan for enforcing international law proposed by the Hon. Richard Bartholdt. He proposed, however, another plan, in case this one should not meet with universal approval: Complete business isolation of any nation that will not resort to and abide by arbitration. The eminent jurist thought that this might prove a practical plan for forcing nations to abide by arbitral decisions without actual conflict.



A GROUP OF MOHONK ARBITRATIONISTS ON THE VERANDA OF MOHONK HOUSE.

Hon. George W. Taylor, Member of Congress from Alabama, was then called upon. Being unexpectedly invited to address the conference, Mr. Taylor was compelled to speak from the inspiration of the moment. His words are full of significance, because they reflect the spontaneous sentiment of America in the face of the actual international conditions. Taking up a word which Justice Brewer had let fall, he asked: "Why did the sovereign State of North Carolina obey the wave of a woman's wand at Washington city? Because that woman represented a Congress and courts which have the power of the American people behind them." Then he declared that the establishment of Justice and the maintenance of Peace among the nations depends upon the organization of an International Congress empowered by the people of the whole world to supply those principles of law which the International Court at The Hague must administer. He expressed his confidence in the power of civilization to accomplish this, and declared that the American people believe in these principles without any argument to persuade them, and that this nation will accept and fulfil its mission of leading in the world-wide acceptance of these practical plans for Peace. He defended the United States Senate against the accusations which are launched against it, and said that august body can be counted on to promote this great movement in the proper way at the proper time. His words were loudly applauded.

The Interparliamentary Union came into being before Mr. Smiley began to hold the arbitration conferences at Lake Mohonk. During its seventeen years of existence it has grown to a membership of over 2,000, every member having won a seat in some national parliament. This fact makes that union a unique and powerful body.

The council of this union, composed of the leading advocates of arbitration in every European parliament, convened at Brussels, May 15, and adopted the program proposed by the American members thru Mr. Bartholdt, their president, namely: (1) The issue of invitations to Central and South American parliamentarians to attend the session arranged to be held at Brussels, August 28, 1905; (2) the granting of jurisdiction to The Hague Court thru treaties of arbitration; and (3) a discussion of the basis of representation in an international legislature to supplement The Hague Court. When a letter from Mr. Bartholdt was read by me, announcing that a committee, composed of himself, the Hon. Beernaert, ex-Prime Minister of Belgium, his Excellency von Plener, formerly a member of the Austrian Cabinet, and Dr. Gobat, of the Swiss Parliament, were actually at work drafting such a treaty, and that Mr. Bartholdt had been requested to present to the Union in full session a basis for representation in an international congress, the conference sent the following cablegram to Mr. Bartholdt,

as President of the arbitration group in the United States Congress and of the delegation from the group to the Brussels session of the Union:

"Hon. Richard Bartholdt, President American Group, Interparliamentary Union, Schleiz, Germany:

"The Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, now in session, sends its appreciation of your services to the cause of international peace and justice, and congratulates all concerned upon its prospective promotion by the establishment of The Hague Court and the expected international parliament proposed by you.

[Signed]

GEORGE GRAY, President.

Dr. Daniel Coit Gilman, ex-president of the Carnegie Institution, then moved the appointment of a committee to arrange for agitation in favor of arbitration at all the institutions of learning in the United States. The idea was unanimously approved, and a committee was appointed composed of Seth Low, Andrew D. White (both of whom were delegates from the United States to the first Hague conference), Dr. Gilman, Arthur T. Hadley (president of Yale), Charles W. Eliot (president of Harvard), L. Clark Seelye (president of Smith College), and Edwin A. Alderman (president of the University of Virginia).

Dr. Henry M. McCracken, chancellor of New York University, was then called upon. Taking up the constitution for an international congress, as proposed by Mr. Bartholdt, he said the only objection to it was that in using the word "Congress" some doubt might be left as to the nature of the



ALBERT KEITH SMILEY,
Founder of the Mohonk Conferences on **I**nternational Arbitration.

body; that he was in favor of making it plain that "world government according to law" was the aim to be kept in view, and that clubs in the colleges, such as Dr. Gilman's resolution contemplated, should be called "world government clubs."

Dr. McCracken then proposed an improvement on the Rhodes Foundation, which brings together at Oxford, for the study of ordinary courses, one hundred or more undergraduate students from all English-speaking states. His plan is to have a "course in international studies provided for at some university, which would include a study of the political principles on which existing governments are founded, and particularly the formation and development of federal governments. The students of this course, drawn from all parts of the world, and required to pursue in their own home institutions a carefully selected course in political history and international law, would inevitably discover how a union of nations might be brought about. An international faculty, at some great center of learning, an international course of studies, and an international student body of select men from all the colleges of the world would certainly do much toward bringing about a federalization of all the empires and kingdoms of the world in the interest of peace and the highest welfare of mankind."

When the time came for final action, the conference adopted a resolution containing, among other

things, the following: "We have a confident assurance that the tribunal which it has established [at The Hague] will become of increasing importance in maintaining the peace of the world. * * * We view the treaty now in force between the kingdoms of Denmark and The Netherlands as representing the ideal toward which we are tending. The evolution of the movement for universal peace clearly points to the early establishment of an international parliament, with at least advisory powers, as a necessary agency in its fulfilment. We heartily commend the work of the Interparliamentary Union, and rejoice in the zeal and efficiency of the American group of its membership."

A cablegram such as was sent to Mr. Bartholdt, as president of the American group, followed by such a resolution, is full of significance, emanating, as it did, from a conference composed of men who represent the Federal and State judiciary, the Congress, the institutions of learning, the press and pulpit, the professions and the business organizations of America. Where these leaders go the mass of Americans are ready to follow.

Mr. Smiley has the vigor of youth, the wisdom of age, and sympathies as wide as the world. Without losing sight of his ultimate aim, he holds steadily to the thing which can now be accomplished, and walks with a firm step in the path that leads to the ideal, taking each success-

ive step in its own order of place and time. In assembling together annually this body of representative men from every department of American activity, he is rendering a valuable service to the whole world. This enables them to speak at the right moment the true word on the questions of world wide importance.

The speaking of this word must be followed by its general acceptance.



CHAPTER XIV.

The International Parliament*

BY COUNT ALBERT APPONYI.

Member of The Hague Court and Leader of the Hungarian Parliament.

A FEW years ago the people of the United States lived in tranquil self-contentment, far away from the contests and complications of world politics. They had none the less a strong influence on the destiny of mankind by the moral force of their liberal and democratic institutions, which excited admiration and envy among less happily situated nations, notwithstanding the malignant watch which the spirit of reaction kept on every unpleasant feature in their practical working. This moral influence paved the way for a more direct participation of America in the common life of all civilized nations. When the moment for such participation arrived, then the powerful organ of the United States began to be heard in that discordant tumult of voices which is euphemistically called a "concert." It was hailed by all friends of liberty and

* When I learned what Hon. Richard Bartholdt intended to propose at the Brussels session (1905) of the Interparliamentary Union, I wrote to several eminent Europeans advising them of the fact and asking them to send an advance word on the subject for publication in America. All replied courteously. Count Apponyi was the only one who sent any definite comments on the proposed plan. *The Independent* published this article on August 24th, 1905. The Brussels Conference took place on August 28th, 1905.

of fraternity among nations with an unanimous outburst of confidence and of sympathy. We all felt assured that America, tho keenly watching her own interests, would upon the whole throw her weight into the scale of international justice and of peace. Nor were our hopes deceived. The representative man of that new evolution in American politics, the President who has been elected in the sign of this new departure, whose unparalleled victory may be called a plebiscite in its favor, has held such language, and, what is more, has lived up to it, as to give the lie to skeptics and high hopes to right believers. When President Roosevelt said, in the magnificent speech delivered after his election, that there is no Power so strong as to make America afraid of it, and no nation so weak as to have any reason to fear her, he laid down in a few words the program of a great nation which will neither suffer nor do injustice. And when he was the first one to bring an international contest before The Hague Court, when he took the initiative for a peace congress, when he keenly watched and resolutely grasped the first opportunity for a successful intervention on behalf of peace between Russia and Japan, he gave us to understand, thru these facts, what humanity has to expect from a more frequent participation of America in her general affairs.

Democracy can have but one sort of foreign policy: Boldly to uphold the banner of international justice and fraternity. She may make ready for

self-defense; this is a tribute she must pay to an unsatisfactory state of things which cannot be put away with a wave even of her powerful hand; but the spirit of aggression is in contradiction with her very nature, while the love of peace and justice are essential ingredients of her mental complexion. The Star-Spangled Banner then, in its present powerful display, symbolizes better days for mankind.

American activity, whether in private enterprise or in public business, is characterized by a bold energy, by a go-aheadness, which sometimes takes the breath away from us more easy-going and more circumspect Europeans. It is a ferment of acceleration everywhere, and it is most beneficially felt as such in the case of the peace movement. Since America participates in that movement, we Europeans feel, as it were, emboldened to stride with larger steps toward our ultimate aim.

The meeting of the Interparliamentary Union for arbitration held last year at St. Louis marks a date in the history of that institution. At this meeting our American friends moved a direct appeal to the first magistrate of their country on behalf of a new Peace Congress; and never shall I forget the impression which President Roosevelt's clear and straightforward answer to that appeal made on us European delegates when we heard it from his own lips in the White House. Accustomed as we are to the circuitous and oracular language which even the smallest agent of public power is wont to use in our

countries lest he should commit himself to any decided course of action, taught to consider such affectation of cautiousness as an essential attribute of statesmanship, and to listen to such official stuff with a reverential awe, proportioned to its degree of unintelligibility, we felt something like a breeze of fresh air when the first magistrate of a powerful nation, on being asked by a society of idealists to take a delicate and bold initiative, answered, "Yes, I shall do it," in language of quite biblical simplicity. The sweet feelings of success, success clear and undeniable, not vaguely to be constructed by artifice of interpretation, which may prove misleading after all, but granted to us in plain, unmistakable words, filled our breasts with new hope and with a firmer belief in our cause. Those three weeks spent in the United States and that hour spent at the White House had a most invigorating effect on our souls. We had breathed American air, our lungs became dilated by it for the steep ascent still expanding before us.

But now our American friends are urging us on at a pace which it will be hard for some of us to keep. The American Group of the Interparliamentary Union proposes a motion for this year's meeting to be held at Brussels in August to the effect that all civilized nations should send delegates to a permanent International Congress—mind, a Congress—not a private meeting of men, holding a public position, indeed, but unprovided with an official mandate and wielding therefore no power but the

moral force of their conviction and of their influence, but a body of official delegates, sent by the popular branch of their respective public Powers, invested with a mandate which gives legal force to their decisions.

The boldness, the magnificent radicalism, of that idea fills our souls with an admiration from which, alas! skepticism is not absent; it wholly depends on the particulars of the scheme which of the two feelings shall ultimately prevail. I suppose that International Congress is meant to be a sort of legislative assembly for questions of international law, a popular complement to the present organization of diplomatic congresses which decide on these matters. This new organ is intended to do business, not occasionally as diplomatic congresses are now wont to meet for the readjustment of things after some catastrophe, but periodically, for the laying down of permanent general rules of international law, the application of which would belong in the executive sphere to diplomacy and in the judicial sphere to international tribunals of arbitration. In its broad outlines I can see before me the matters to which the Congress might extend, and I fully appreciate the utility of its introduction into the machinery of international legislation. Its periodicity would mean legal prevention of conflicts instead of a mere legalization of their consequences; its popular character would go very far to make principles of universal justice prevail over combinations of temporary expediency.

Upon the whole, its realization would mean an immense step in advance toward the ultimate goal of general brotherhood.

What I see less clearly and where the big difficulty lies is to define the amount of legal force which the decisions of such a congress shall be possessed of and the means of practically enforcing them. And here I warn our American friends of being misled by a fancied analogy between such an association of nations and the union of States in their great Republic. These States were never sovereign Powers till the movement which gave birth to their union at the same time and through the same instrument which proclaimed their emancipation; they have not behind them a history of feuds and antagonisms centuries old; their interests do in the main coincide. their particular mentality is immersed into a stronger feeling of broad American patriotism; their constitution makes the popular assemblies paramount in legislative power, and the agents of executive power, up to the highest one, entirely dependent on the people's will. In Europe you have to reckon with conflicting national histories and mentalities, and with constitutions widely different between themselves and almost all of them much less democratic than the Constitution of the United States. The International Congress as proposed by the American Interparliamentary Group will have to reckon, in Europe, with a double difficulty, a vertically and a horizontally laid one, if I may so express myself, the

former arising from the strength of monarchical prerogative in most European constitutions; the second from an energetic consciousness of independent sovereignty pervading all European nations. Neither will the monarchs be found willing to abdicate their privileges in foreign affairs, considered as their own domain through centuries, or even to share them to any large extent with a newly created International Parliament, nor will the national legislatures be inclined to fetter the absolute independence of their decisions by conferring on an international assembly the power to overrule and to control them in certain questions. I very much doubt whether even the United States, as a nation, would feel inclined to admit such a Power, placed in some respects above them, setting up limits to their national sovereignty.

Now I don't mean to say that these difficulties are not to be surmounted; what I intend to state is only this, that no scheme has any chance of practical realization which does not solve them one way or other. For this purpose you must either be content to give to the resolution of that congress moral weight only, or you must be ready to meet some arduous preliminary questions, which I shall try to indicate directly. In the former case the motion means practically a more elaborate and effective organization of the Interparliamentary Union for international arbitration. I should consider even this as a great step onward, since it is self-evident that a

body of delegates, with a mandate from their respective Parliaments, will carry greater moral weight and will have more influence at home than a gathering of men with nothing to lean upon but their individual good will. In the second case, if jurisdiction of some sort is to be vested in that International Parliament, you must begin by examining and defining:

1st. The relation in which it is to stand to the heads of States and their diplomatic representation, as acting individually or jointly as a congress;

2d. The questions which shall fall within its competence;

3d. The mode of its composition—namely, whether all nations shall send an equal number of representatives (as follows from the principle of sovereignty) or whether their representatives shall be proportioned to the population of each;

4th. The mode of passing resolutions; will unanimous consent be required or will the minority be expected to submit?

5th. The juridical value of these resolutions: will the nations represented bind themselves by a foregoing treaty to accept them as binding or will they reserve the ultimate decision to their own several legislatures?

Several other questions will certainly arise in the course of further discussion, but I think the aforementioned may sum up tolerably well the chief difficulties of the problem. If our American friends

with whom that bold move originated have a solution ready for them, a solution which takes into account the history of Europe, the constitution and the psychology of European nations, their motion will be found ripe for immediate acceptance and for vigorous activity on behalf of its prompt realization. But if they are not yet so prepared their magnificent scheme will have to ripen in further discussions and preparatory committees, just as the idea of a permanent court for international arbitration ripened for several years in the discussions of the Interparliamentary Union, till it took shape in 1895, when an elaborate project of such a court was accepted by the Union and presented to the Powers, a project on which The Hague Tribunal is based in the main outlines of its organization.

At all events, you will have the hearty support of the Hungarian Interparliamentary Group. The crisis which weighs upon us at the present moment, and which in its essence means simply a conflict between pretensions to arbitrary power and people's right, in no way affects our capacities for embracing higher ideals; it rather inspires us with a stronger enthusiasm on their behalf. Nor are our national energies broken by its trying conflicts; on the contrary, we feel rather invigorated than weakened by the struggle for national independence and constitutional liberty which is again forced upon us. We had to fight for the preservation of these moral treasures through many eventful centuries; we could

never enjoy them in peace and safety, because the spirit of conquest, of oppression and of arbitrary power prevailed in our vicinity. Experience has taught us, then, what a safeguard our neighbor's liberty is to our own and how the highest interests of each nation are dependent on the security of all. Even apart from the mere ideal feelings of universal brotherhood, toward which our souls naturally incline, national egoism is enlightened enough among us to seek for guarantees of its own welfare in the concord and solidarity of mankind.



CHAPTER XV.

The American Victory at Waterloo*

BY HAYNE DAVIS

Secretary of the American Delegation of the Interparliamentary Union.

AT the same moment when Roosevelt's efforts ended in the Peace of Portsmouth, Richard Bartholdt, of St. Louis, won at Brussels a great victory for peace thruout the world. About 300 members of various Parliaments (nineteen in all) were assembled there for the Thirteenth Session of the Interparliamentary Union. Among them were many of the great men of Europe, notably Cr  mer, of England, the creator of this International Congress, composed of those national lawmakers who are resolved to substitute arbitration for war. It consisted of Mr. Cr  mer alone eighteen years ago; now it contains over 2,000 of the world's national lawmakers.

Mr. Bartholdt proposed:

1st.—Granting to The Hague Court the right to try and determine questions of the kind included in treaties of arbitration, so that this International Court can act, within its proper sphere, however, limited, as any other court does.

* Reprinted from the October 5th (1905) issue of *The Independent*, 130 Fulton Street, New York.

2d.—That the several governments of the world agree to choose men who shall be charged with the duty of considering at all times what amendments ought to be made to the law of nations, and of assembling periodically to confer together in order to make such suggestions to the nations as meet with the approval of their own body in conference assembled.

Mr. Bartholdt pointed out that granting jurisdiction to the Court of the Nations at The Hague necessitates providing a body of law which this court can apply to the cases which come before it. He called the body that ought to be created for this purpose a Congress. Others preferred to call it a Conference, as the American word sounds too much like giving it power to lay down law for the nations. Mr. Bartholdt wants it to have power as soon as European nations can get their consent to this, because this is the only thing that can lift the burden of war expenses from these oppressed people, or that can prevent this same burden from being laid on the American people. But he gladly let them name the baby, as they agree with him to let it be born. Once born, he is sure it will grow and acquire in due time the power it must have in order to fill its proper place in the world's legal machinery.

Count Apponyi, of Hungary, one of the greatest statesmen of the times, rose in the conference to such high that the skeptical and reactionary thought could not assert itself at all. When he had replied

to the able presentation of the American plan, accepting the principles underlying the plan, and moving the creation of two Commissions, one to consider each of its branches in all its details, a great victory for the American idea was won. Not a voice was raised against Apponyi's motion, the Commissions were appointed and all the members required to pledge themselves to report their conclusions within three months.

The eminent men who are to pass upon all the details of this great proposition are :

For the treaty of arbitration :

Von Plener, formerly a member of the Austrian Cabinet, and one of the great statesmen of the Austrian Empire, as President of this Commission, and Bartholdt (United States), Descamps (Belgium), Brunialti (Italy), Von Krabbe (Denmark), Gobat (Switzerland), and the seventh member to be named later by France.

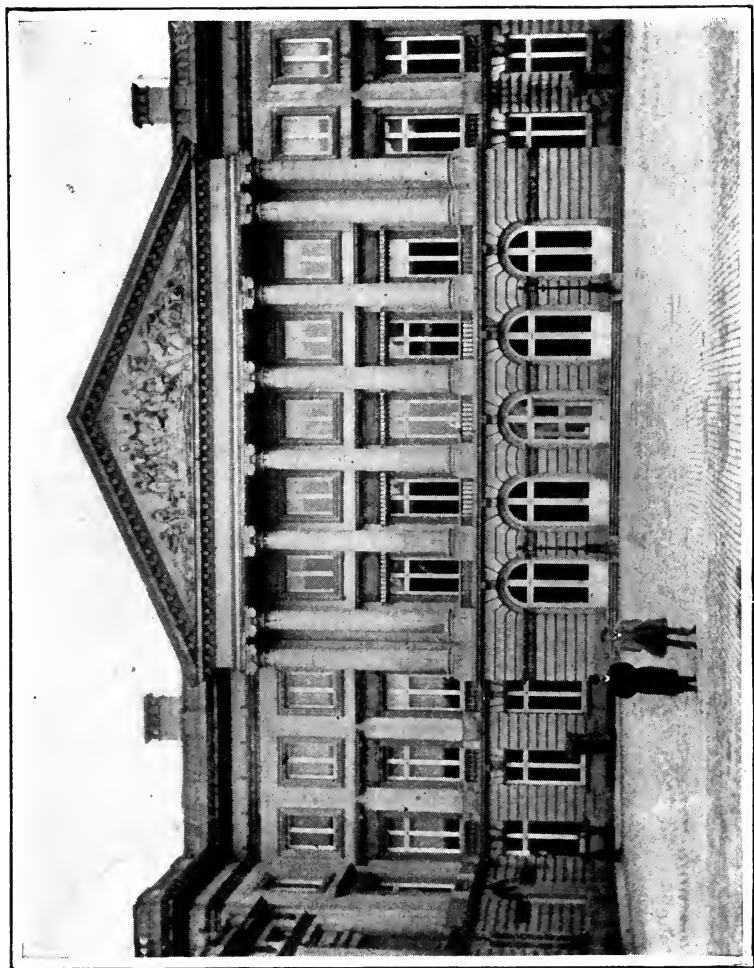
The Committee on the International Congress is headed by the eminent Englishman, Stanhope, and is composed of Count Apponyi (Hungary), Marquis Pandolfi (Italy), Bartholdt (United States), Horst (Norway), La Fontaine (Belgium), and the seventh to be named from France.

All these men have made their way through the warfare of politics to places of eminence in their own nation and are worthy to consider the basis of which their several nations, and all other nations, may become possessors, in their relations to each

other, of these principles of political liberty which they have each won at great cost for themselves individually.

Seventeen American Congressmen supported Mr. Bartholdt in making this memorable stand for principle, and as the delegation was leaving the Belgian Parliament House, where this victory was won, they were greeted with the glad tidings that peace between Russia and Japan was secured. So great was the joy of the American delegates on account of these two great achievements, accomplished by America at the same moment, that they gave a great banquet at the principal hotel of Brussels—the Bellevue. The victory here was no smaller than the one at Portsmouth, but better eyes are needed fully to understand this. The victory here was due principally to Mr. Bartholdt's bold and wise action, just as the Peace of Portsmouth was to President Roosevelt's. So the banquet was given in Mr. Bartholdt's honor.

In his opening address on this memorable occasion, Mr. Moon (Member of Congress from Pennsylvania) declared that it would be unworthy of themselves and of the truth if the other delegates from the United States failed to acknowledge that they had assisted at the finish in winning this victory, and that they were grateful for the opportunity to do so, but that Mr. Bartholdt had put forward the plan, conducted the campaign, stood strong against the adverse and skeptical thought which it



BELGIAN PARLIAMENT HOUSE (PALAIS DE LA NATION).

Hayne Davis and William Randal Cremer in the foreground.

had encountered at the beginning, and was entitled to the glory of this great victory for American principles won in the very heart of Europe.

He said furthermore that Mr. Bartholdt had done more than any man living to carry into the practical politics of the nations a plan which can establish law and order where war and carnage now reign, and that for this he is entitled to the gratitude of the people, not only of America, the nation that he serves in Congress, but of Germany, where he was born, and also of all nations, for all will some day inherit benefits from the ideas which, during this Conference, he has forced into the European mind.

The other delegates heartily endorsed the words of Mr. Moon, and when Mr. Bartholdt rose to reply a great demonstration was made.

He said it was true that a great victory had been won for the political principles on which the American Union is founded; that undoubtedly direction, right direction, had been given to the thought of Europe; that it was a great privilege to have had part in such a work destined to bear good fruit, and at no distant day; and that he had been enabled to stand firm by reason of the presence and supporting influence of the other delegates.

Moon, of Philadelphia; Sladen, of Texas; Norris, of Nebraska; Waldo and Goldfogle, of New York, supported ably different parts of the plan proposed by Mr. Bartholdt.

Mr. Bartholdt and the other seventeen delegates

worthily represented the United States, worthily represented this cause which is greater than any country.

The power of the principles they stood for made them irresistible. But it would not be right to ignore certain influences which made themselves felt from America.

During the session of the Conference, cablegrams were read endorsing the plan, notably one from the great Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, signed "George Gray, President." George Gray is a member of The Hague Court. This Mohonk Conference of which he was president contained members of the Supreme, Circuit, and District Courts of the United States, of the Supreme Court of nine States, Members of Congress, representatives from thirty-two Chambers of Commerce and fourteen periodicals or papers, of twenty universities or other institutions of learning; also representatives of the Bar and of the religious organizations of America.

Cablegrams from the St. Louis Merchants' Exchange and from the Colorado Springs Chamber of Commerce, endorsing this message from Mohonk, were received and read to the Conference; others were received, but could not be read.

The fact was stated in Conference that, since January 1st of this year, through the activity of one man well known in America and not unknown to Europe, 122 audiences, composed of representative

Americans, assembled in that number of cities, situated in twenty States and two Territories, and averaging about 1,000 persons, had enthusiastically voted for this plan and instructed the Mayor of the city to appoint a committee to send the resolution to the Representative of the District in Congress, to the Senators of the State, and to the President of the United States.

It is Captain Richmond Pearson Hobson who has made this movement so well known among the American people since the session of the Interparliamentary Union at St. Louis, last September.

These unmistakable manifestations of approval by the masses of the people and by representatives of the judiciary, the Bar, the press, the churches and the business organizations of America, not only strengthened the American delegates, but profoundly impressed the European delegates.

When the council of war was held here before the fall of Napoleon at Waterloo, the city was in a turmoil of excitement.

Today the streets are streaming with people who have no idea of the true significance of what has happened.

But some day Brussels will be more famous for this Conference than Waterloo has been able to make it.

BRUSSELS.

CHAPTER XVI.

America the Flowering of Europe

COUNT ALBERT APPONYI had to reply to Mr. Bartholdt's motion at Brussels, after having only a few hours in which to consider its features; and during these hours he was constantly compelled to give thought to other necessary events in the holding of this historic Conference. The reply which he made was both profound and prophetic.

This is what he said, speaking first in English and then in French:

"I wish our American friends thoroly to understand the spirit in which their motion is received by myself and by the Interparliamentary Council, in the name of which I shall move an amendment to the effect that this motion be deferred to a select committee directed to report on it within three months.

"We think this preparatory step necessary on account of the very importance and magnitude of the scheme laid before us. While full of sympathy with its principle, we think that its details require ampler consideration from an European point of view. Without entering into the merits of the question, I may point out in a general way that no organization has any chance of being accepted by European na-

tions which interferes with the principle of their sovereignty and independence. In my opinion it will be the chief task of the committee to bring the American scheme into concordance with that principle. To the best of my belief this is practicable, but it requires careful examination of all those questions which spontaneously arise concerning the powers, the composition and the activity of the planned international body. This is a detail work which is needed to bring into evidence the practicability of the scheme, and which can be done successfully only by a small body of specialists.

"So much for the committee; that we do not intend it to be a burial place to your motion is made clear by the time limit which we propose to fix for its activity. But, even should this first attempt fail, the splendid idea embodied in the American motion will knock at our doors till it gets admittance. If I understand it correctly—and I think I do—its essence amounts to this, that international law should emerge from the uncertainties of opinion and mere custom to the clearness of a system, sanctioned and organically developed, by an international body, and what is more important still, that the people should have a voice, as it were become paramount, in the framing of such a law. Well, this is a grand idea, and, if it may be called a bold one, I only say that our peace movement will be all the better for a combination of American boldness with European cautiousness. We all—as our honored president eloquently stated in

his opening address—hail the participation of America in our work as an accession of strength which is to be measured, not only by the material force represented by the United States, but also—and perhaps I might even say chiefly—by the spirit of ardor and thoroness which is a characteristic of American activity. Our American friends, on the other hand, must take into account the state of Europe, the past of her nations, the peculiar mentality and the different entanglements which are the result thereof, and they must be neither astonished, nor think less of our zeal for the good cause, if we happen to see difficulties where they see none. In that way the different tempers of the two worlds will come to a perfect mutual understanding and to a compromise between their tendencies fruitful of blessings to mankind.”

This reply was unanimously approved and applauded by the assembled Parliamentarians, and marked the acceptance of the American idea by the most progressive Europeans who are occupied in the world's political fields.

Nevertheless, it seemed to call for certain suggestions which could come only from an American. The Conference was short, lasting only three days; there was much to be done; many of the members did not understand English at all, and French only after a fashion. It seemed well, therefore, to make this suggestion to the members of the two commissions. So Mr. Bartholdt addressed the following letter (in French) to each of these gentlemen:

"My Dear Colleague:

"The importance of our proposition, the difficulties encountered in presenting it to our brethren of so many languages in so short a time, induce me to call your attention to certain points.

"The Count Apponyi, while accepting the principle underlying our proposal, intimates that national sovereignty may be an obstacle to the realization of our ideas. He thinks, however, that national sovereignty can be reconciled with an International Parliament.

"You will pardon my calling your attention to the fact that the people of the United States have spent a century in arriving at a reconciliation between the sovereignty of the States comprising the Union and the Congress of the Union. This struggle began as soon as the Union was formed, and continued in the councils of the political parties, in the press, in the halls of Congress, in the State legislatures, in the courts of justice, and was ended on the field of battle after four years of civil war. Can people having such a history present to the nations a plan that does not take account of independent sovereignty?

"The plan presented is not the opinion of one man. All who took part in its preparation or presentation were simply voices by which the crises of American history have expressed, in the international councils, their word of wisdom. This history has placed red lights at the danger points and white lights along the safe way.

"Furthermore, America was bound to contend with the ancient history of Europe, from the simple fact that that history is the ancient history of the Americans, who are merely transplanted Europeans. I, for example, was a citizen of Germany thirty-three years ago. Last year I delivered the address at the celebration of the Fall of the Bastille, at the request of the French Society of St. Louis.

"What does this signify? Simply that Americans are Europeans who have broken the chains forged by the past, by the aid of those very principles which they now ask Europe—the source of their people—to apply in the relations of all Europe within itself and with the rest of the world.

"I am convinced that the power of these principles will make them always victorious when faithfully represented, and that our organization is their proper advocate.

"It is certain that no member of our organization, who from that fact is a representative of the parliamentary principle, can fail to stand for the timely application of that principle to international affairs.

"With sentiments of high esteem, which must always unite those who are engaged in a noble cause, I beg to remain,

Faithfully yours,

RICHARD BARTHOLDT,
President of the American Group."

CHAPTER XVII.

The World's Peacemakers

BY HAYNE DAVIS

[On account of his services at the St. Louis Session of the Interparliamentary Union, Mr. Davis was invited by Mr. Richard Bartholdt, President of the American Delegation, to attend the Brussels Session of the Union. There his services were so highly appreciated that several members of the Commission appointed to pass on the plan submitted by Mr. Bartholdt, invited Mr. Davis to visit them while they were considering the subject. He spent four months in this work and was present at the Paris Session of the Commission, when a report was adopted which opens the way for the early and full realization of the plan submitted by Mr. Bartholdt, and in advocacy of which Mr. Davis has published many articles in our columns during the past two years. Our readers have assisted, therefore, in bringing the movement to its present happy position, and we are glad to present to them articles by both Mr. Bartholdt and Mr. Davis on its present state. We will continue to keep our readers in the forefront of this, the greatest political movement of our times.—EDITOR.]

THE Peace of Portsmouth on the 29th day of August marked the transfer of the world's political capital from Europe to America, and this is its chief significance: Henceforth the political center of gravity is in the New World, or preferably in the world of *new ideas*. And on the very day that the Peace of Portsmouth was announced, the wires flashed out the glad news that the American plan for an International Parliament was approved in principle by the Interparliamentary Union, and that a Commission of seven eminent members of the various world parliaments had been named to

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consider all the details of the plan. So that on the same day, by the same nation, one war was brought to a speedy and timely end and a practical plan for perpetuating peace on a foundation of justice was presented to all the nations. Nothing like this ever took place before.

Of course it was inevitable that the United States would, in due time, exert pressure for the general acceptance of her principles. The remarkable thing is that pressure for this was powerfully applied on the very same day that the world awoke to the fact that hereafter America would exert the paramount influence in world politics.

Americans who were in Europe when the Peace of Portsmouth was announced became conscious that the Continent had passed to that attitude of mind which such political prophets as Gladstone foresaw and foretold several decades ago.

The day after the Peace was declared, Count Albert Apponyi, the great Hungarian, rose in a company of national lawmakers, assembled at Liège, and declared in words that silenced and inspired every person in the vast audience that this peace was not merely or mainly a personal triumph for President Roosevelt, but for the great principles on which this nation is founded; that back of President Roosevelt was the mighty power of the American people, exalted by their enjoyment of and fidelity to the true principles of liberty! A thrill shot thru the audience, and thru Europe, as his words were flashed

over the wires; and as he took his seat in the midst of a burst of inspiration rather than applause, this thought came to me: "Not Hungary only but the world is safer because this man lives and labors in its political fields."

He had declared, in effect, that the principles of political liberty would win a complete victory thruout the world. And his declaration awoke response thruout Europe. Seventy-five years ago all Europe assembled at Vienna and conspired together in an unholy alliance to kill with sword and spear the very ideas which were now announcing thru this man their early and full conquest of the world. The day before he had been appointed one of the "Seven." And from this scene he returned to Hungary to mature his views on the proper form for an International Parliament, to which the world may wisely delegate the task of bringing the law of nations out of darkness and uncertainty into the clearness of a system, duly sanctioned by the Nations and developed by the aid of this International Parliament.

It was my privilege to visit him and all but two of the other European Members of this Commission while they were considering the American plan, and also to be present at the sessions of the Commission at Paris on November 18th and 19th, when the way was opened for its realization by the report of the Commission.

I had rare opportunity to see into the secret of their lives, and I found that by daring deeds, when

it was necessary to make a stand for "Principle," they have all been prepared for places on this Commission, and to lead in this great work.

The world has a right to know these men well, and they have a right to be known well, because in this way alone can they be properly sustained and enabled to finish the work they have begun for the welfare of the world.

Americans are fairly well acquainted with Richard Bartholdt, the United States member of the Commission. *The Independent* has given its readers a slight sketch of him. But a man cannot be condensed into a magazine article. We can lift the veil and let the world catch a glimpse of him in action. The eye that sees must interpret the things seen. And Americans owe it to themselves to understand Mr. Bartholdt in order that they may sustain him properly in what he is attempting for their welfare and the welfare of the world.

He dares to grasp every opportunity to make a stand for progress and right, and to look for support after—not before—he takes his position.

It was this quality which enabled him at Vienna, in 1903, to make a stand for America as the proper place for the 1904 session of the Union, altho he had no other Members of Congress to sustain him, no authority to speak in the name of the nation, and no assurance from any source that the Congress would appropriate the necessary funds. Because he dared

to do this, the whole world has made an immense move forward.

When the session convened at St. Louis, he dared to propose the calling of a second Hague Conference, and to suggest that it should consider the advisability of establishing a Permanent International Congress.

Many were astonished at his boldness when he walked into the Conference at Brussels and laid on the table a plan for a Permanent International Congress.

Some voices were even heard to say, "This is revolution." Mr. Bartholdt replied, "We call it evolution," and he stood like a rock until every wave of opposition or even of doubt was stilled.

Henri Lafontaine, the great Belgian Senator, says that Mr. Bartholdt's action has given new life to the Interparliamentary Union, and has put into practical politics the ideas which will solve the world's gravest political problems. For ten years Mr. Lafontaine has been a member of the Belgian Senate. He is one of those bold intelligences which walk about the world with open eyes, maintaining the same mental attitude to a king as to any other man, for he can always give and always calls for a reason for any position assumed. He looks at institutions in order to see where they may be improved, he considers conditions in order to change them. He is not to be changed by them. He is always going forward and upward. In an address at St. Louis, before the Con-

gress of Arts and Sciences in 1904, he declared that an International Legislature must come to develop the law of nations, an International Judiciary to apply it to controversies, and an International Executive to see to its execution. It was inevitable, therefore, that he should be an ardent advocate of the American plan. And he was its most radical champion. He desires to go even farther than Mr. Bartholdt suggested.

The Hon. Philip Stanhope, president of the British delegation, was appointed President of the Commission. He enjoys being used as a battering ram to break thru reactionary thought. He has attended every session of the Interparliamentary Union since its organization at Paris in 1889, and can be counted on to take a stand for every progressive idea. It was he who made the motion in the British House of Commons, which summoned Cecil Rhodes to the Bar of the House to explain Chamberlain's connection with the Jameson Raid. And when his party was running away with the nation on the South African question he fearlessly threw himself in the way.

When the storm subsided the Hon. Philip Stanhope was no longer a Member of Parliament. But as soon as the nation became clothed and in its right mind again he was found in his accustomed seat. When the Commission met at Paris he drew up the preliminary report, and in doing so set the example of "preferring others in honor." He was first to

suggest the idea of turning the second Hague Conference into an International Congress, with power to assemble periodically and automatically, as the first step in realizing the ideal proposed by Mr. Bartholdt. In drawing the report, he mentions that this idea was put forward in Marquis Pandolfi's (Italy) suggestions, the Marquis himself being prevented from attending in person by imperative national duties. All the members of the Commission concerned themselves to see that the suggestions of others were duly credited.

When the members of the Commission were appointed, it was decided to leave the naming of the member for France to the President of the French delegation, the venerable Senator La Bische. Considering that this must become a notable part of history, some ambition to take part in the work of the Commission would be natural. There was one man in the French Parliament, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, to whom men naturally turned as France's representative. He was not at the Brussels session, he was not even an active member of the group of which Senator La Bische was organizer and president. Indeed, he had organized an Arbitration Group of some 200 members, and was working independently of the regular group of the Interparliamentary Union.

And it was Senator La Bische who requested that Baron d'Estournelles be placed on the Commission for France. At every turn, every person engaged

in this work has subordinated self, and considered only the finishing of the work wisely and well. Baron d'Estournelles expressed to me the great joy he had found in working with men so devoted to the cause and so careless of the consequences to themselves.

NEW YORK CITY.



CHAPTER XVIII.

Permanent Peace Congress*

DINNER TO CELEBRATE VICTORY OF AMERICAN DELEGATES

Their Plan Submitted to the Interparliamentary Union Approved by
a Commission—It Also Recommends a Codification of the Law
of Nations.

C LARENCE W. BOWEN, proprietor of *The Independent*, gave a dinner last night at the Metropolitan Club to the seventeen members of Congress who represented this country at the Brussels session of the Interparliamentary Union, which was organized for the purpose of bringing about the substitution of arbitration among nations for war.

The dinner was to celebrate the triumph of the American representatives, who insisted on the formulation of a general arbitration treaty granting jurisdiction to the Hague Court over such questions as are included in it, and who urged the earliest possible creation of a Permanent International Congress to codify the law of nations and keep it up to date. A commission of the Union was appointed to pass upon this proposition, and its report, which opens the way for the early realization of the American plan, was read at the dinner last night.

Mr. Bowen presided, and among the guests of

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honor were Representatives Barchfield of Pennsylvania, Bartholdt of Missouri, Bates of Pennsylvania, Granger of Rhode Island, Goldfogle of New York, McNary of Massachusetts, Norris of Nebraska, Dickerman of Pennsylvania, Slayden of Texas, Waldo of New York and Wood of New Jersey.

The other guests included August Belmont, Arthur Brisbane, Edward Cary, Hayne Davis, secretary of the American delegation; Ralph M. Easley, Dr. John H. Finley, Major-Gen. Frederick D. Grant, Hamilton Holt, Judge George C. Holt, Frederick R. Martin, of the *Providence Journal*; Diego Mendoza, Minister from Colombia; Prof. John Bassett Moore, Robert C. Ogden, Isaac N. Seligman, Charles Sprague Smith, Oscar S. Straus and William Hayes Ward.

D. L. S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, delegate of the United States to the Pan-American Congress, spoke on the relation of American opinion to the preservation of peace, saying:

"The support which American opinion has given to this worldwide movement for the maintenance of peace has been no small factor in bringing it to its present commanding position. I use the term American in the sense of continental opinion—the crystallization of sentiment among the nations of the American Continent.

"The approaching Pan-American conference, to be held in Brazil in July next, will furnish the opportunity to carry this movement one step further. There is every indication that the American States will come to the second peace conference at The Hague united in their purpose to throw the entire weight of the influence of this great Continent in favor of arbitration. The opportunity confronting the Rio conference is unique in every respect, and may well

inspire the enthusiasm not only of the delegates but of every earnest advocate of peace. In the fulfilment of this purpose the conference may well be guided by the spirit of the Interparliamentary Union and particularly of the members of the American delegation, in whose honor we are assembled this evening."

Señor Mendoza promised the hearty support of his country in all the efforts making for the cause of Peace and justice, and said he thought he could safely say the same thing for all the other nations south of the United States. "I have been so favorably impressed," said he, "with the propositions advocated at Brussels by Mr. Bartholdt and his associates of the American delegation that I have submitted to my Government the draft of a general treaty of arbitration which was proposed by Mr. Bartholdt, and I do not overstep the boundaries of diplomatic discretion when I express my personal approval of the main ideas in said treaty. Furthermore, I have recommended that the program of the Second Hague Conference contain a clause under which the Powers represented can discuss the best way of making suitable provisions for similar conferences in the future. This will open the door for the discussion of the project for a Permanent International Congress which has now received the sanction of the Interparliamentary Commission, but which was first put forward by Mr. Bartholdt, the President of the American delegation."

Congressman Slayden said:

"Americans will fight at the drop of the hat and I am glad of it but we must not let the hat be dropped. If they

are quick to fight they are also willing to faithfully keep their promises. They will abide by their contracts. We have in the United States the bitterest political fights known to history, each side affirming and believing that if the other wins the country will go to the devil. Yet when the issue has been determined in the regular and legal way the losing side gracefully, even gayly, submits. It will be so in international matters, and we who take an active part in the work of the Interparliamentary Union should try to have these treaties made while there is no threat from any source on earth.

"It will not be the fault of the American representatives who have associated themselves with the work if this country does not put itself at the very head of this League for Peace.

"We appear to have been commissioned by Providence to promote this work. What we want to do and what should be done to maintain the peace of the world is plain enough. To secure that peace the union demands treaties of arbitration—a permanent international congress, and in the end disarmament."

Representative Bartholdt, who was president of the American delegation and who presented the American plan at the Brussels session, said that the Interparliamentary Union, instead of advocating disarmament as an independent proposition, again went on record as urging a compact between the nations to arbitrate their differences and to do in international relations what has long ago been done in national affairs, namely, to substitute law and justice for arbitrary power and anarchy. As to the methods that should be used to gain the ends sought by the advocates of universal arbitration, he said:

"In order to carry out their plans the friends of international justice must gain the good will of the rulers and their Governments. This cannot be secured by flying into their faces and withholding from them the means which, under present conditions, they deem necessary for the safety of

their countries. Such action would necessarily arouse a feeling of resentment and might induce the Powers to spoil our broth at The Hague.

"In countries with a republican form of government the hands of the 'powers that be' might be forced, but this is not true in monarchical countries. Hence the friends of arbitration, as I said on the floor of Congress the other day, must realize that as long as there is no agreement between nations to keep the peace we must be in readiness for all possible emergencies, and, therefore, should not antagonize a naval program as far as it is necessary for the national defense. On the other hand, the friends of that program should remember that in order to defend it, it is not only not necessary but uncalled for to antagonize or make light of the peace movement. They need our co-operation for their plans the same as we need theirs for our plans until we reach a point where we can all agree that armaments can safely be dispensed with and are as unnecessary as the revolver in the hands of the citizen. And that point, permit me to add, will be reached as soon as there is an agreement between nations, a compact whose inevitable result must be disarmament or which will surely render armaments to a large extent obsolete by automatic action."

Mr. Bartholdt was enthusiastic as to what would happen if the ideas of the American delegation were finally adopted.

"A permanent Hague conference with the power to meet periodically and when it pleases once assured, there will be no more need of the friends of peace and arbitration to prevail upon Czars or Presidents to call such a body into being."

Mr. Bartholdt said that the time had come for the organization of a sort of International Civic Federation, with offices at the principal political centers of the world and containing representatives from the Interparliamentary Union, the press and from business and labor organizations. "This work is waiting to be done," said he. "The time to under-

take it is at hand. America seems to be the place for its practical initiation, and New York the best point for establishing the American office of such an International Civic Federation."

The report of the Commission of the American plan for a Permanent International Congress, which was read, said that the Commission had declared unanimously in favor of the following propositions:

First—That the Second Hague Conference ought to be transformed into an International Congress, assembling automatically and periodically.

Second—That a committee of competent jurists ought to be appointed by the Second Hague Conference to codify the law of nations, so that the International Congress can have this body of law as a basis to stand upon, in its effort to develop duly the law of nations, and to secure in as large a measure as possible, unity in the national laws affecting international interests.

Third—That the Interparliamentary Union should be re-organized in such a manner as to make it a truly representative one, receiving its mandate from the Parliaments elected by the people, or from the people themselves, and capable of co-operating with the Permanent Conference at The Hague.



CHAPTER XIX.

The American Proposition for Peace*

BY HON. RICHARD BARTHOLDT,

MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM MISSOURI AND EX-PRESIDENT
OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

[This article and the three following, one by Prof. John B. Moore, one by Señor Diego Mendoza of Colombia, the third by Mr. Hayne Davis, contain the substance of addresses made by these gentlemen at a dinner, given by Mr. Clarence W. Bowen, at the Metropolitan Club, New York City, on May 29th, 1906, in honor of the American delegates to the Brussels Conference.]

BEFORE I speak of the Interparliamentary Union and its American Group in connection with the Brussels Conference, I wish briefly to refer to some arguments recently advanced by a very high authority in justification of war. We say, if it is right, if it is good ethics and good law that courts should settle controversies between individuals, then it must also be right, good ethics and good law for courts to settle controversies between nations, for what is law for an individual should be law for a nation. If not, why not? The answer of the authority referred to is that there is no analogy between international and national law. A private citizen, he says, can have his rights defended by the power of the State—that is, by the sheriff's posse, the militia, and, if need be, by the army; but there is no such power behind international law to enforce

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judicial decisions. Let us see. In the first place, it is plain that if there is no analogy between the two kinds of law, there surely ought to be, and to supply the deficiency—that is, to make them analogous, is exactly what we are striving for. And surely, a compact between the nations to secure their peace would include a provision for the enforcement of judicial decrees. But we need not go that far. Since the year 1815 more than 200 international disputes—to be exact, 240—have been settled by arbitration, and in each one of these cases the contending nations have accepted the verdict without protest, and in no case has the losing nation attempted to evade or resist it by force. Thus, if the history of arbitration teaches anything, it is this, that the combined moral force of public opinion and of the compact between the nations is effective in the enforcement of judicial decisions; perhaps more effective than armed forces would be; it seems, therefore, that no further proof is necessary to demonstrate that physical force is unnecessary in administering international law, provided a proper system for declaring that law is created, and for adjudicating alleged violations of the law. But, says the same authority, when there is a conflict between peace and righteousness, then a self-respecting nation must uphold righteousness even if the path leads to war. Who, we ask, is to be the judge of what is righteous? Is an interested and consequently partial government, or is a nation whose passion has been inflamed by some unfor-

tunate incident and whose judgment is consequently blinded, a better and a safer arbiter than an impartial tribunal which deliberately weighs a cause in the impartial scales of justice and right? To ask the question is to answer it.

Now, let me proceed from the abstract to the concrete. What are our plans and what has been done toward their realization? As the elected representatives of a nation whose traditions are to set the world an example in the love of liberty and peace, and in the ways of justice and fair dealing, and charged with the duty of making due preparation to preserve our rights, by force if necessary, but also with the duty of striving in every possible way to find a better and surer means, seventeen of the 200 members of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union repaired to the Brussels session of that great body, determined to make a stand for progress toward peace along practical lines. The moment seemed propitious, and it is easy to show how, for a long time, the world has been steadily moving toward the point at which this would be in order.

In 1887 a delegation from the British Parliament appeared at Washington with a memorial signed by 234 members of that Parliament, requesting the United States to take the initiative for general treaties of arbitration between all well disposed nations. No such *move* was ever made before in history. The outcome was an organization known as

the Interparliamentary Union, composed exclusively of national lawmakers. It began very modestly, but has grown very rapidly in numbers and in influence, containing now over 2,000 members. It has done much to arouse public opinion in favor of arbitration. It has exercised great influence upon the action of governments. It inspired the Czar to call the first and President Roosevelt to call the second Hague Conference.

In its resolution calling for a second Hague Conference it suggested that this conference ought to consider, among other things, the granting of jurisdiction to the Hague Court, thru treaties of arbitration and the establishment of a Permanent International Congress.

The Russo-Japanese war necessitated the postponement of the Conference until peace could be re-established. But this was not without some good results, for the horrors of that war prepared public opinion in all nations for favorable action on this practical plan to prevent the recurrence of such calamities.

On March 6th, 1905, the American Group of the Union authorized me to propose that South American nations be particularly invited to attend its Brussels session, and that the program provide for discussion of the following questions: A treaty of arbitration fit for general acceptance and the best basis for a Permanent International Congress. I laid these matters before the meeting of the Executive

Council of the Union last summer, and they were all three acceded to. The Council requested me to present to the Conference in full session a basis for an International Congress, and it named a committee, of which I was a member, to prepare a draft of a model arbitration treaty.

On my way to Brussels, thru the courtesy of *The Independent*, I was able to make public the few fundamental propositions on which it seemed to me an International Congress would have to repose. I arranged for copies of *The Independent* with this basis outlined in its columns to be sent to each member of Congress who had agreed to attend the Brussels Conference, in order to allow for the largest possible thought on the subject by the American delegates prior to the convening of the Conference. It was impossible, however, after the action of the Executive Council, to do more than formulate a draft of an arbitration treaty, and have it ready upon our arrival at Brussels.

Naturally, there was not entire agreement among all the American delegates on these two grave questions, the details of which could be made known only on the eve of the Conference. But party and personal considerations were all sunk in the desire to promote the progress of peace and justice, and the Americans all stood together for the essentials of the propositions formulated during the summer. Several members of the delegation made able and convincing addresses on various phases of the question.

The Executive Council entrusted to Count Albert Apponyi, of Hungary, the drafting of a reply to our propositions. He is a very great statesman, and as a member of the new Hungarian Cabinet, is called upon to solve the problems which have vexed his country for centuries.

In an address as simple as it was powerful, Count Apponyi declared that the grand idea embodied in the American proposition would knock at Europe's doors till it was admitted. And upon his motion, it was unanimously decided to refer each branch of our proposition to a commission.

Two commissions were appointed, and have since been wrestling with these problems. They will report at a conference of the Interparliamentary Union which has just been called to meet at London on July 23d. The Commission on International Parliament has already reported in favor of transforming the second Hague Conference into a permanent body, to assemble automatically and periodically, and to reorganize the Interparliamentary Union so that it can co-operate with the Permanent International Congress at The Hague, in shaping a suitable system of international law, duly administered.

Briefly stated, this is what the American delegation has accomplished by its attendance at the Brussels session of the Union.

The question naturally arises how this great international reform is to be brought about. In view of the early assembling of the second Hague Con-

ference, it appears to be merely a question of inducing this body to proceed to the consideration of the plan. Its feasibility will surely be admitted by the delegates of the several countries as readily as the supreme necessity of the early compilation, and sanction by the nations, of what now passes under the name of international law. It would seem that the advocacy and presentation of the plan by so influential an organization as the Interparliamentary Union should of itself be sufficient to insure its respectful and favorable consideration by the Conference. But, in addition to this, the members of the Union will no doubt use their influence with their respective governments in favor of the proposition. To leave nothing to chance, however, I have introduced a joint resolution authorizing and requesting the President to instruct the American delegates to the Hague Conference to favor this plan, and to do all that lies in their power toward securing its adoption. What favorable action by the Conference would mean to civilization and to the cause of humanity and international justice is apparent to all. In addition to an international judiciary, now afforded by the high court at The Hague, the world would be assured of the benefit of an international legislature, charged with the duty, first, of supplying the law which is to govern the judiciary in the adjudication of cases to be brought before it, and secondly, of agreeing on a system of arbitration by which the possibilities

of war will be reduced to a minimum. A reduction of armaments will follow without further agitation and as naturally as ripe fruit falls from the tree. And this will be only one of the beneficial consequences of the proposed international organization. A permanent Hague Conference, with the power to meet periodically and when it pleases once assured, there will be no more need of the friends of peace and arbitration to prevail upon Czars or Presidents to call such a body into being.

It goes without saying that the change here proposed will require the sanction of all governments to give it force and effect, even after the second Hague Conference has pronounced in its favor; but no one need feel any concern on that score. If the people are given a chance to pass judgment upon this reform—the greatest, most far-reaching and most beneficial political reform ever undertaken—they are sure to rise to the full height of their golden opportunity, and the moment they grasp the new dispensation in its full comprehensiveness, their majestic power will force all other “majesties,” great and small, to capitulate unconditionally.

Supposing that the second Hague Conference is transformed into a permanent body, whose members will all the while be devoting themselves to finding a solution for the most pressing international problems, and who will assemble periodically to declare in favor of such ideas as meet with the

approval of their body in conference, still there will be much work to do, which can best be done by the Interparliamentary Union *in co-operation* with the various progressive organizations in the several nations. In my opinion, the time has come for the organization of a sort of International Civic Federation, with offices at the principal political centers of the world, and containing representatives from the Interparliamentary Union, from the press, from the business organizations, such as chambers of commerce, from the organizations such as the Civic Federation, the labor organizations, the societies especially organized to promote peace, the patriotic societies which have sprung up in the wake of the wars that have ravaged various nations, from the vague department of our life called the general public, and from that class which is called either capitalists or plutocrats, depending upon whether you want them to aid you in your plans or to thwart them in theirs. The really good men of this class have now a rare opportunity to make an investment which will produce immediate and quick returns. The masses of the people need to be informed of what has been done and what is proposed. To do this the press must be enlisted in the movement as the artillery department, and loaded with the most accurate and convincing array of facts.

The current of events and the movement of persons could be seized upon to make timely publica-

tion. Delegations could be sent from various parliaments at opportune moments to organize groups of the Interparliamentary Union in parliaments where none now exist, or to strengthen those that are already formed. Outside aid is needed for this, because of the short term and the small pay which the people's representatives enjoy and the great distances involved.

Members of the United States Congress find difficulty in attending the sessions of the Interparliamentary Union, because they occur usually in Europe.

With an ample fund for prosecuting this campaign and an organization capable of conducting it, the Interparliamentary Group in the various Parliaments could be counted on to supply a delegation of competent men to do the actual work of organizing and strengthening the arbitration groups in the various Parliaments, thru exchange of visits, until the Union is brought up to the point of having a majority, in numbers and in influence, in every National Parliament, and solidly organized on the platform of jurisdiction for the Hague court and an International Congress, duly constituted, to supplement it.

This work is waiting to be done; the time to undertake it is at hand; America seems to be the place for its practical initiation, and New York the best point for establishing the American office of such an International Civic Federation.

Baron d'Estournelles, the French member of our Commission, has been building the foundations for such an organization. He has committees already organized in twenty-one nations. These committees need only to be completed by proper addition to the membership and by provision of the necessary fund and an executive committee to spend it, in order to wisely make the wheels of progress carry the world along these practical lines, at express speed, instead of at the slow rate of former centuries.



CHAPTER XX.

An International Executive Power

BY JOHN BASSETT MOORE,

Professor of International Law, Columbia University.

[This article from Professor Moore, of Columbia University, is of great significance, approving as it does the immediate establishment of an international legislative body, and even looking toward the ultimate development of an international executive power. One need not be reminded that Professor Moore is recognized thruout the world as one of its leading authorities of international law and politics. He has published a monumental work containing a complete account of every question submitted to international arbitration during the past century. He served the Government during the Spanish War as Assistant Secretary of State, and took part in the conclusion of peace with Spain.—EDITOR.]

IT has, as I understand it, been proposed by Mr. Bartholdt and his American associates in the Interparliamentary Union that the next Hague Conference shall be converted into a permanent body. This proposal is exceedingly interesting, and is far-reaching in its ultimate possibilities. Its distinctive significance lies in its suggestion of a permanent international parliamentary body. The great achievement of the first Hague Conference was the establishment of a permanent tribunal for the exercise of judicial functions. Special tribunals had, as we all know, often been created before for the decision of particular questions; but a great step was taken in advance when for occasional tribunals there was substituted a permanent organization, always open for the exercise of judicial functions

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between nations. It is now proposed that another great step shall be taken by the constitution of a body which, even tho it be not invested with direct legislative power, shall always be open for the consideration and discussion of matters of international concern with a view to conclusions which shall be in their nature legislative. If we were to review the history of the past hundred years we should find that the formulation and adoption of international rules by means of international conferences has been one of its most remarkable achievements. The measures thus adopted have been in a real sense measures of international legislation, so that we have witnessed the exercise among nations, for international ends, not only of judicial power, but also of legislative power. If the next Hague Conference should result in the creation of a parliamentary body for the consideration of measures in their nature legislative, we should then secure, in place of the occasional exercise of international legislative power, the same element of permanency in the domain of international legislation as has already been attained in the domain of international judicial action—not indeed that direct and immediate action which is assured within the State by judicial and legislative processes, but the permanent possibility of and invitation to action.

With the permanent possibility, thru permanent organs, of judicial and legislative action established, it would yet remain to constitute a common execu-

tive power by which the enforcement of international judicial and legislative acts should be assured without producing a state of war. The advocates of peace too often seem to assume that the use of force can suddenly be done away with by plans of conciliation and arbitration. This assumption altogether neglects the existence in the world of evils that have to be repressed with the strong hand. No one proposes to do away with the police forces in our municipalities, for the reason that every one recognizes the fact that there are evil elements in the community that have to be repressed. The same tendencies and propensities to evil we find among nations, varying according to their development, political, moral and social. The great problem confronting those who wish to do away with war is how to employ the force necessary to the restraint or repression of evil without producing the legal condition of things called a state of war. The most striking imperfection in the international system today is the lack of a common agency for the enforcement of law. If, at the present time, a contest by force breaks out between two nations, the conflict is recognized as a war, and other nations assume the attitude of neutrals, even tho the cause of the conflict be the flagrant disregard by one of the contending nations of a well-settled principle of international law. Such a condition of things involves an obvious incongruity, the remedy for which would be the or-

ganization of a common agency for the enforcement of law; the addition, in other words, to judicial and legislative power of what we call executive power. This is a problem of the future, probably of the far-distant future; but it is an ideal and a goal toward which it is permissible to labor.



CHAPTER XXI.

South America and the Peace Movement

BY DIEGO MENDOZA.

[Señor Mendoza is the present Minister from Colombia to the United States. He is leader of the Liberal Party in Colombia, which is the party of progress, and corresponds to that party in other countries which is struggling against established errors. Señor Mendoza has been president of the Republican University, and is now professor of International Law in this university, which is situated at Bogota, and is the center of education among Colombians who are for freedom of thought. He is a member of the Colombian House of Representatives at the present time. Señor Mendoza is also noted as an author, having written among other things, "The Thought of the Founders," "Evolution of Property in Colombia," "Diplomatic History of Greater Colombia," "Interoceanic Canal and the Treaties." He is a nephew of the great Perez, who resisted Nunez, President of Colombia, in 1885, when the latter declared that the constitution of Colombia was abrogated and that he was the State.—EDITOR.]

I MUST express my grateful acknowledgment of the initiative of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union which resulted in the issue of invitations to all American Parliaments to join said Union, and in the appearance, at the Brussels Conference, of four Latin-American Parliaments.

I had the honor to arrange for the representation of Colombia at that Conference in the person of my country's minister to Switzerland, who is also a member of our National Assembly. I regard the entry of the Southern Republics on this continent into the Interparliamentary Conference as one step

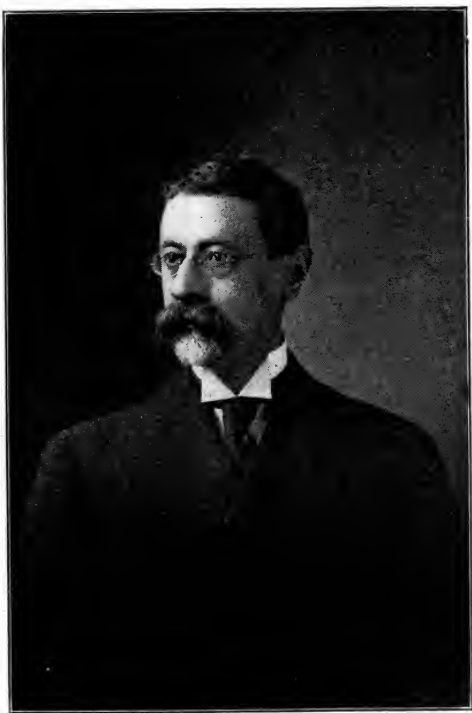
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further in the world's progress, and the credit for it must be placed upon citizens of this great Republic.

I have been so favorably impressed with the propositions advocated at Brussels by Mr. Bartholdt and his associates of the American delegation, that I have submitted to my Government the draft of a general treaty of arbitration which was proposed by Mr. Bartholdt, and I do not overstep the boundaries of diplomatic discretion when I express my personal approval of the main ideas in said treaty. Furthermore, I have recommended that the program of the Second Hague Conference contain a clause under which the nations represented can discuss the best way of making suitable provisions for similar conferences in the future. This will open the door for discussion of the project for a Permanent International Congress, which has now received the sanction of the Interparliamentary Commission, but which was first put forward by Mr. Bartholdt, the president of the American delegation.

Two events in South American history have an appropriate place in memory at this moment.

It was Bolivar, the Great Liberator, who was first among all Americans to conceive this idea and to take practical steps for its realization. Having succeeded in freeing a great part of South America from the oppression of hereditary rule, he proposed the uniting of all America by means of a Permanent Pan-American Congress. The Congress met at his invitation at Panama, while he was President of Co-



SENOR DIEGO MENDOZA.

lombia. The United States delegates arrived too late, because of a contention between the President and Congress of this country in regard to attendance.

Unfortunately, Bolivar's grand design was regarded as premature in the year 1826, just as a similar plan of Henry the Great of France, for the unification of all Europe, was considered premature when Elizabeth was reigning in English politics and Shakespeare in English thought. But time removes many difficulties, and the countrymen of Bolivar and of Henry the Great will not fail to stand by the bold leaders of the United States when they rise in the International Conferences and propose in the twentieth century, on a world-wide scale, the very means of perpetuating peace which these great statesmen contemplated on a continental scale one century and three centuries ago. Nor does it seem oversanguine to hope that the day of realization has now come. Already we have a second general congress of nations at The Hague, to which all nations have been invited, South American nations being included in the American Hague Conference in accordance with the declared wishes of the United States Group of the Interparliamentary Union; and for the good will of this wish we, of South America, are duly grateful.

We are on the eve, also, of the third Pan-American Congress, and one part of the program calls for the discussion of provision for future conference.

All that is required is simply to make these two Congresses permanent institutions. It seems easy to believe, therefore, that the world will soon realize all the blessings that can come from having the permanent Pan-American and World Congresses, of which noble souls in other centuries could only dream.

Thus, the highest aspirations of Washington, Lafayette, Bolivar and Sanmartin, the liberators of North and South America, will be achieved by the banishment of injustice from the earth and of the plague of war which only follows in its wake.



CHAPTER XXII.

Present Prospects for Peace*

AN extraordinary session of the Interparliamentary Union will convene at London, July 23d, to consider the American plan looking toward permanent peace. During the same week the third Pan-American Congress will convene at Rio de Janeiro, and preparations are being made for the second Conference of Nations at The Hague.

It is appropriate, therefore, for the advocates of peace to take a look over the field, in order to estimate justly the strength of their forces, as well as the excellence of their plan of campaign. It is, indeed, encouraging to note the names and character of the men who are now in charge of the standing army, that is ready to wage this war for peace, along lines which are bound to end in victory.

Great significance must be attached to the fact that it is Prof. John B. Moore, who has stamped with approval, in a previous article, the proposition to create an International Legislative Body; and, not satisfied to stand on this progressive plank, has advocated the earliest possible development of an International Police Power.

The nations have submitted nearly one hundred

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and fifty questions to the judgment of courts of arbitration during the past one hundred years. The reports of all these cases are contained in a voluminous book, of twenty great volumes, by Professor Moore, who was compelled to steal time from his arduous duties as Assistant Secretary of State and Professor of International Law at Columbia University to prepare and publish this work.

No man in the world is better informed about actual arbitrations than John B. Moore, and I doubt if any other man, except Senator Henri LaFontaine, of Belgium, is as well informed. Mr. LaFontaine occupies in Europe a position similar to that held in America by Professor Moore.

Not only has Professor Moore, the historian of arbitration, taken this advanced position, but Theodore Roosevelt, the arbitrator in action, has declared, in a message to Congress, in favor of some sort of International Police Power, and also for some form of International political organization.

But the President's very position necessitates his going carefully in this grave question of State. The significance of these declarations by him seems to have escaped not only those politicians whose vision is bounded by mere local interests, but even the professional peace people have evinced but slight appreciation of what this means.

And now we have Mr. Bartholdt, a Member of Congress for fourteen years, the head of one of its most important committees, the organizer and presi-

dent of the arbitration group, also president of the Interparliamentary Union. He does not abandon the actual work of government to become a "rainbow chaser," as he is fond of calling the impractical dreamers. The dreamers he believes in are those who can make their ideas take form and body, so as to become operative. He not only joins hands with Professor Moore and the President, but he has even said what sort of international political organization we should have and what sort of international police power should be placed behind its Judicial and Legislative Branches. In *The Independent* of May 11th, 1905, he set his hand to twelve propositions, which outline the form of this organization, and since then he has been busy making it assume this form.

Proposition 12 is as follows:

"12. The armed forces of all the nations represented to be at the service of the Congress for enforcement of any decree rendered by The Hague Court, according to treaties of arbitration."

This proposition is very reasonable, because each nation is to remain free to arm itself as its interest may seem to require, and also to use force in the settlement of *every* question with *any* other nation, unless it has solemnly agreed to permit a court to render judgment in the particular question or class of questions in dispute. Under such circumstances why should not all the nations place their armed forces at the service of the International Congress to compel respect for international law, duly adjudged, in cases *which have been solemnly and deliberately*

transferred from the arena of war to that of reason by treaties of arbitration?

Henri LaFontaine was the only European who took Mr. Bartholdt's arm to walk with him the full length of his proposition. He even dared to go a step or two beyond Mr. Bartholdt's most advanced position.

Count Albert Apponyi, the great Hungarian statesman, approves proposition 12 personally, but considers it must be stricken from the program for the moment on account of anticipated opposition from European monarchs.

So the proposition now put forward by Professor Moore has taken tangible form and found able advocates occupying high position. Mr. LaFontaine occupies the chair of International Law at a European university and also a seat in the Senate of Belgium.

Count Apponyi is in the Cabinet of Hungary, and, in co-operation with Francis Kossuth, can control the action of that great nation.

The present President of France has presided at sessions of the Interparliamentary Union, and has appointed as Minister of Foreign Affairs M. Leon Bourgeois, who was one of the men who took part in creating the Interparliamentary Union, and who is on the most intimate personal and political terms with Baron d'Estournelles, the French member of the Interparliamentary Commission.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the present Pre-

mier of Great Britain, declared in his first official address that he is for forming some sort of League for Peace, and has followed this word by a good deed, elevating Sir Philip Stanhope, the president of the Commission, to the Peerage, in recognition of his great services to his country and to the cause of peace and progress.

So our friends have now a practical assurance of support from the heads of four great nations; and the day of our final triumph is certainly not distant.

Under such circumstances it would not require great intellectual courage to declare one's faith in the early creation of a Congress of Nations, having a clearly defined sphere of jurisdiction, and co-operating with the half hundred National Legislatures, as our Federal Congress co-operates with the fifty State Legislatures on which it reposes, and backed by a duly constituted and effective Executive Power for enforcement of the law of nations.

NEW YORK CITY.



CHAPTER XXIII

The Fourteenth Interparliamentary Conference

BY HAYNE DAVIS,

Secretary of American Delegation to the 13th and 14th Interparliamentary Conferences.

THE Fourteenth Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, just closed, was the most important in the history of this unique organization. It was the largest in the number of Parliaments represented, in the number of persons present, in their weight of political influence at home, and it was the most progressive, both in the propositions put forward and the resolutions which were adopted.

The Union now contains over 2,000 members, all of whom have seats in some national Parliament. Ordinarily speaking, only about 10 per cent. of these members attend the Conferences; as there were considerably more than 500 present at this session, the attendance was very unusual, and these parliamentarians came from twenty-three different nations. At the session held in the United States during the year 1904, only fifteen countries were represented, and the number of delegates did not exceed 200, or 250 at most. The large attendance

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at the present Conference was due in a great measure to the importance of the propositions which were to come up for consideration. Those who have followed carefully the events of the past two years in international politics will not need to be reminded that the Second Hague Conference was called as a result of the resolution adopted by this Union at its session at St. Louis in September, 1904, and that Mr. Bartholdt, as president of the American delegation, at the Brussels Conference proposed the founding of a permanent international deliberative body, having the right to assemble periodically and automatically, and the granting of jurisdiction to the Hague Court over such questions as the different nations can obtain their own consent to arbitrate, instead of resorting to trial by armed forces. The reports of the two Commissions in favor of these propositions excited great interest in this London session, among all the members of the Union in all the countries of Europe.

Not only does the membership of the Conference which has just closed here far exceed that of any former session, but the influence of the leading members in their own countries is greater than ever before. The French group was headed by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, the eminent French Senator, who is now a member of the Hague Court for France, and who was a member for France at the first Hague Conference. Baron d'Estournelles is recognized all over Europe and America as one of the foremost statesmen of our times. He was a

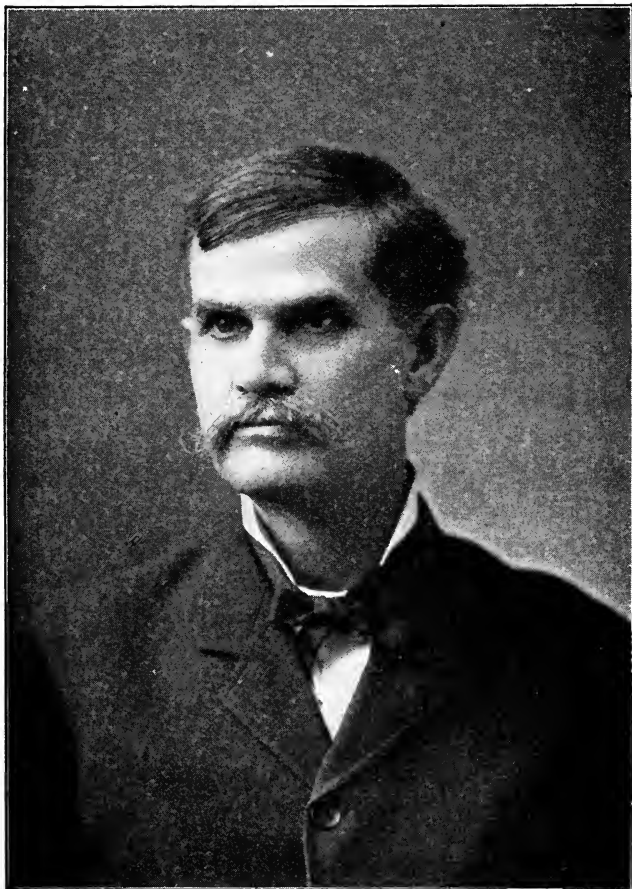
member of the Commission on the International Congress. Count Albert Apponyi, of Hungary, is also a member of the Hague Court, and is Minister of Education in the new Hungarian Cabinet, which is now engaged in the most difficult piece of constructive political work which is being done in Europe. The Commission on Arbitration Treaty was headed by His Excellency Ernst von Plener, ex-Minister of Finance in the Cabinet of Austria, and for many years the leader of the German—which is the predominant—party in the Austrian Imperial Parliament. At the head of the Belgian delegation was the ex-Prime Minister, Beernaert.

Turning from Europe to America, the personnel of the delegation is found to be relatively even more influential than at former Conferences. The United States Congress has been represented at only seven of the fourteen Conferences of the Interparliamentary Union, and at three of these by only a single member.

American Congressmen became acquainted with the Interparliamentary Union thru its action in visiting America and in causing the second Hague Conference to be convened. The result was seventeen members of the United States Congress appeared at its 1905 session, held at Brussels. The importance of the propositions put forward at that time has resulted in bringing to this Conference at London as large and a considerably more influential delegation than that which represented the United

States Congress at the St. Louis session. Heretofore the Democratic side of the delegation has been small and relatively less influential than the Republican. At this Conference the Democratic membership of the delegation is as large as the Republican, and comes nearer representing the head of the Democratic party than the Republican side does. For John S. Williams, the Democratic leader of the House, is a member of the delegation, and so is W. J. Bryan, who has twice been Democratic candidate for the Presidency. Mr. Williams being the leader of the Democratic party in the House of Representatives, and Mr. Bryan being the leader of the Democratic party in the country, the only thing needed to make the Democratic side of the delegation as strong and as representative as would be possible was the presence of Joseph W. Bailey, of Texas, Democratic leader of the Senate. On the other hand, the leading Republicans at this Conference are Richard Bartholdt, of St. Louis, and Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio. As both of them are very strong men, and as there was absolute unity between them and the Democratic leaders who were present at this great Conference, it is plain that the United States was never before so strongly represented at a session of the Interparliamentary Union.

The main points of the program at the opening session of this Conference were the report of the Commission in favor of converting the Second Hague Conference into a permanent body to con-



HON. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Democratic Leader in the House of Representatives.

vene periodically and upon its own motion; second, in favor of the codification of the law of nations; and third, for the granting of jurisdiction to international courts of arbitration over such classes of controversies as are included in treaties of arbitration. But immediately upon the opening of the Conference a large number of resolutions of considerable importance were introduced.

At the meeting of the American delegation, which was held the day before the Conference convened, it was unanimously decided, upon motion of Mr. Burton, that the American delegation should vote solidly in favor of both the reports advocating the adoption, with slight modifications, of the original proposition put forward by Mr. Bartholdt at the Brussels Conference. But Mr. John S. Williams proposed that one of these reports should be amended so as to include in the questions to be arbitrated "all questions of debt." Mr. Bartholdt's original proposition had included "pecuniary claims," which, of course, would cover questions of debt, and might possibly be even more comprehensive than the wording of Mr. Williams's resolution. The Commission has eliminated this clause in drawing up what they considered the best possible treaty, having good hope of general acceptance at this time. The American delegation voted unanimously in favor of sustaining Mr. Williams in standing for the insertion of questions of debt into the proposed Treaty of Arbitration, and this motion was carried

in the Conference without opposition. Mr. Williams moved also that the Interparliamentary Conference should declare in favor of the payment of a salary to all the members of the Hague Court, and in favor of a graduated appropriation, proportionate to the population of each country, for enabling the Hague Court to codify the law of nations and to keep properly open and operative a clerical office at The Hague, for the transaction of such business as might come before the Hague Tribunal.

Satisfied that the reports of the Commission on his resolution introduced at Brussels would be adopted, Mr. Bartholdt presented a resolution in favor of a declaration by the Conference that the several nations whose parliaments are represented in the Interparliamentary Union should make annual appropriations in aid of the work now being prosecuted by the Interparliamentary Union.

Mr. Burton proposed to introduce a resolution in favor of suggesting that the Second Hague Conference should consider, and, if possible, devise a means of effecting an arrest and then a decrease of armaments. All of these propositions were unanimously approved by the American delegates, and the members of the delegation were instructed to vote as a unit for all of them.

It was found impossible, in the pressure of business during the three short sessions, to get all the matters brought up for consideration. Mr. Bartholdt's motion in favor of national appropriations in

aid of international arbitration met with some opposition in the Executive Council, but was passed enthusiastically when it came before the Conference in full session. Mr. Williams's motion in favor of the payment of fixed salaries to the members of the Hague Court, coupled with a prohibition against their appearing as counsel in any case before this court, could not come up for consideration, but the fact that it was presented by a parliamentarian of such ability and of such a commanding position in the Congress of the United States was itself a fact of considerable importance. This resolution will doubtless be pressed by Mr. Williams at the next session of the Union, and it commends itself so forcibly to the intelligence of the leading members at this Conference that its adoption at an early session is practically assured.

For a couple of years Mr. Bryan has been giving consideration to the question of an international agreement binding the signatory powers to arbitrate all questions of fact, even tho the right is reserved by the arbitral agreement to appeal from the decision of the court to the battlefield in those questions which are considered as affecting the vital interest or the honor of the parties to the dispute. Upon several occasions Mr. Bryan had already expressed himself as favoring such an agreement. And when he received an invitation from the president and secretary of the British group to attend the present session of the Interparliamentary Conference, he

Hon. Theodore E.
Burton.

Mrs. Senator
Faulkner.



F. M. Passow,
Captain of the
"St. Paul."

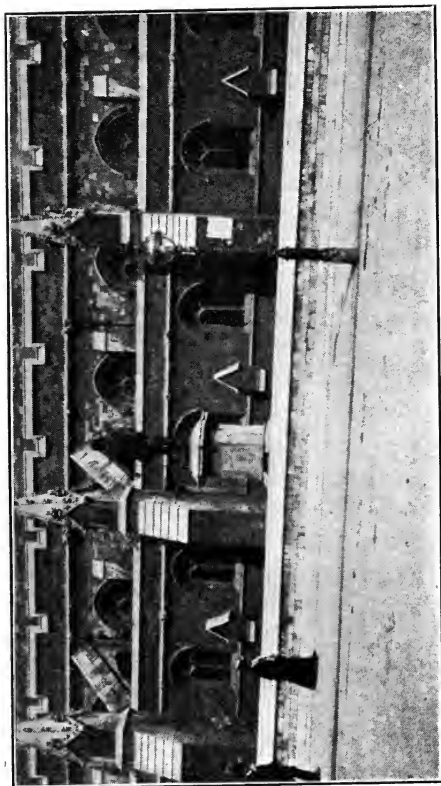
Thomas Kinsey,
Purser of the
"St. Paul."

ON THE CAPTAIN'S DECK OF THE "ST. PAUL."

This Boat, Its Officers and Crew, Went Into the Spanish War, for which Mr.
Burton Voted.

decided to make a motion in favor of the endorsement of this idea by the Union. He was not aware of the fact that Mr. Bartholdt had proposed this idea as one clause of the treaty of arbitration which he submitted at the Brussels session. When Mr. Bryan was shown a copy of the report of the committee on arbitration treaty, he decided that he would introduce this idea in the form of a motion to amend the treaty proposed by the Commission. During the discussion of Mr. Bryan's amendment, the fact was brought out that his motion was practically to reinsert into the proposed treaty of arbitration one clause which had been eliminated by the Commission. In a very simple but powerful address Mr. Bryan crystallized the thought of the Conference in favor of the treaty of arbitration proposed by the Commission with this idea reinstated. When he finished his speech the whole Conference was a unit on the question of converting the Second Hague Conference into a permanent body, and in favor of a treaty of arbitration granting the Hague Court the right to try and finally to determine all such questions as are specified in the treaty of arbitration, and the right to try in the first instance all questions of fact, the parties being at liberty to appeal from the decision of the court in the questions not specified as arbitrable to the ancient method of trial by force of arms.

Any one of these things would have made this Conference not only worth while, but an important



STATUE OF OLIVER CROMWELL,

In front of Westminster Hall, where the Sovereign of Great Britain was sentenced
for invading the rights of the People's Parliament.

factor in the progress of the world. But, in addition to these important acts of the Conference, another resolution, which is considered by some as being of great importance, was adopted upon the motion of Baron d'Estournelles, which is as follows:

"The Interparliamentary Conference believes that the increase of naval and military expenses which already weighs heavily upon the world is universally recognized as intolerable, and therefore expresses the wish that the question of limitation of armaments be placed on the program of the forthcoming Conference at The Hague.

"The Conference decides, further, that the Arbitration Group of each country taking part in the Interparliamentary Union should seize the earliest possible opportunity to bring this resolution to the attention of its Government, and to press upon the Parliament to which it belongs the idea of instituting immediately the national investigation of this question, which seems necessary to the success of an international discussion of it."

Personally, I have very much greater confidence in the success and in the value of the plan for constructing an international deliberative body, and perfecting the power and authority of the international judicial body which already exists, than I have in the results of either national or international consideration of the question of limiting or decreasing naval and military expenditures. I agree with Mr. Bartholdt that these expenses are a symptom, and that when we remove the cause the symptom will disappear, and that the cause of these armaments will be removed by the organization and proper development of an international deliberative body, supplemental to the international judiciary which we already have.

But whether the advocates of immediately proceeding to a discussion of limitation of war appropriations will be disappointed at the result obtained or not, the very passage of the resolution with such unanimity proves that the parliamentarians of the world are fully aware of the fact that the size of the world's military establishments constitutes a grave malady, and that some remedy must be found without delay. If it be found, upon examination, that the nations will refuse to limit their naval and military expenditures without some guarantees that their rights will be respected, it is very likely that this very fact will lead to an early agreement between all the nations of Europe that they will hereafter respect all those rights which it would be right to defend by force. When this is done, certainly the people of the various nations will decline to spend vast sums of money unnecessarily to preserve rights which are already safeguarded against loss by the attack of powerfully armed neighbors.

I have thus far spoken only of the acts of the Conference itself, but it would be a serious omission not to lay great emphasis upon the remarkable address of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the British Premier, in welcoming the delegates to this Conference. No Prime Minister of any country has ever gone further in advocating international arbitration than was done by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in this historic address.

Count Albert Apponyi was appointed by the

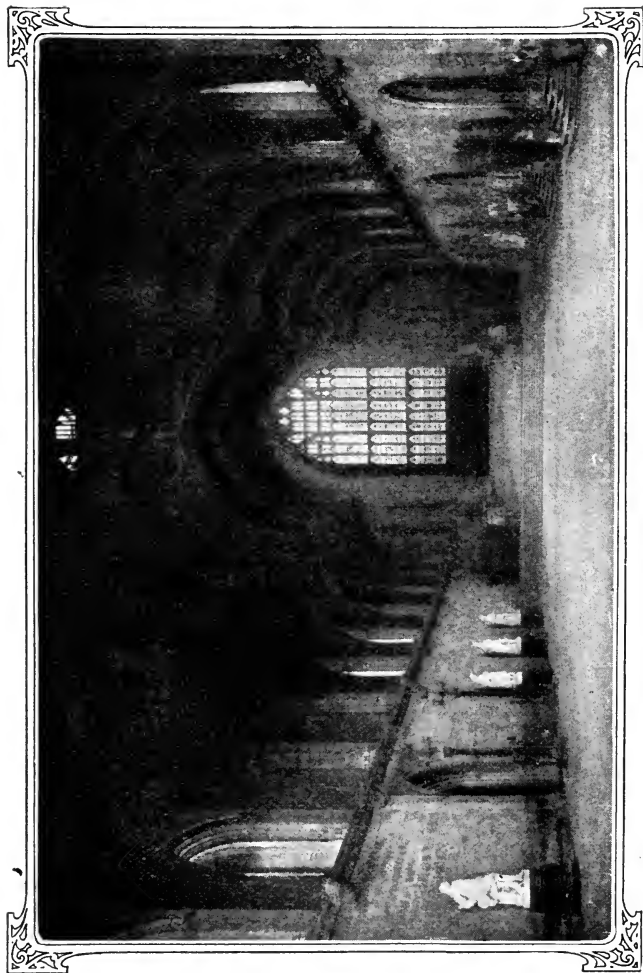
council to reply to the address of the British Premier, and in doing so he pointed out that this address was historic and important, not only in the sentiment which it expressed, but in the fact that it brought from the King of the country in which the Interparliamentary Union was holding this session a message of sympathy for its aims, prior to any request by the Conference that he would take note of and give effect to these aims. Said Count Apponyi:

"Heretofore the rulers of those countries in which our Conference has held sessions have taken no notice of our assembly until we advised them of our presence and our purposes. Now, for the first time, the ruler of the greatest country in the world has not permitted us to have time to advise him of our presence; he has immediately assured us of his active and profound sympathy with the object which has called us together."

The Conference adopted unanimously a number of important resolutions, some merely aimed at mitigating the injustice of war, for instance, those calling for consideration, by the second Hague Conference, of the best means of clearly defining the rights and duties of neutrals, protecting undefended places from bombardment, making private property at sea exempt from seizure, and clearly defining property which can lawfully be seized and confiscated.

Five constructive resolutions were approved:

1. Periodical assembling of a Conference of Nations at The Hague.
2. Jurisdiction for the Hague Court to try and finally determine certain classes of disputes.



WESTMINSTER HALL,

Where the early English Parliaments assembled six centuries ago, and where parliamentarians from twenty-three Nations enacted together, after declaring for an International Parliament on July 24, 1906.

3. An investigation of *all* questions in dispute between nations or a resort to mediation prior to the commencement of hostilities.

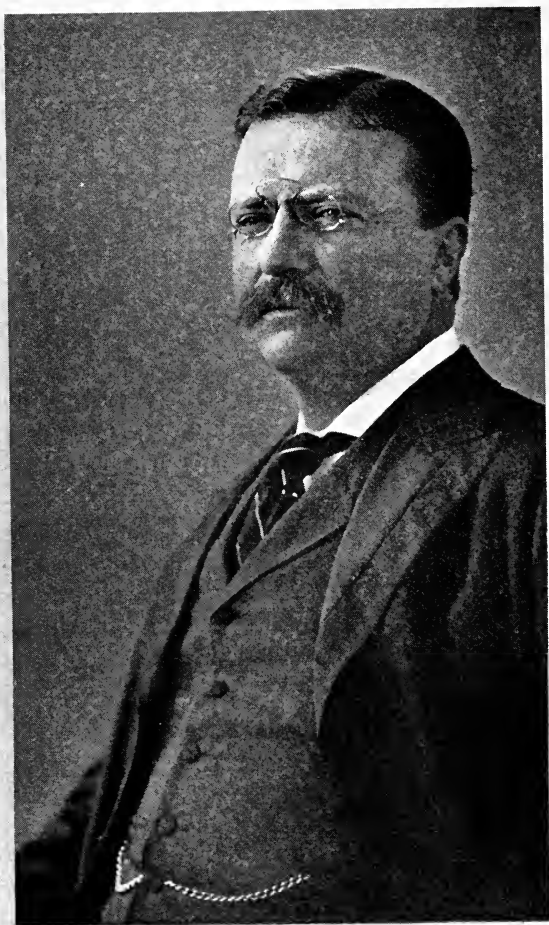
4. National appropriations annually in aid of International Arbitration.

5. National consideration of the question of armaments, with a view to an international agreement to limit and then decrease the intolerable military burdens which now weigh upon the world.

The third proposition was approved by reason of the force of Mr. Bryan's advocacy of this idea, and the force which he brought into the Conference was not without its effect in strengthening the sentiment of this great body of national lawmakers in favor of all five of the resolutions approved at its London session.

The number of national parliamentarians who had come to this Conference was the largest in the history of the Union, more than 25 per cent. of the membership being present, whereas the attendance is generally about 10 per cent. This was due to the gravity of the propositions put forward by Mr. Bartholdt at the Brussels Conference last August. The members of the Union, as well as the two Commissions appointed to consider Mr. Bartholdt's motion, have been busy during the year, and they came to this Conference alive and ready to take a hand in the discussion.

When this great body was on the eve of this discussion of the advisability of creating imme-



Theodore Roosevelt

diately an international Parliament, the papers announced that the Russian Duma had been dissolved. The next morning the Prime Minister of Great Britain declared to the elected Representatives from twenty-two national Parliaments, assembled in the hall thru which the King of England passes when he visits the British Parliament in person, "The Duma is dead; vive la Duma."

The circumstances under which this declaration was made by the British Prime Minister are indeed remarkable. It was in the year 1253 that the first Representative Parliament of England was assembled. In other words, half of one thousand years ago the Idea of a representative Parliament appeared in practical form before the face of hereditary rulers, at the place where the Inter-parliamentary Union was holding its fourteenth session. During the intervening centuries this Idea has established itself as Sovereign over every foot of territory on the two great continents of America and over a portion of Europe. All the other parts of Europe have this Idea as semi-Sovereign, the Parliaments dividing the Sovereignty with the reigning families, but in most cases having secured the larger part for themselves. Outside of the hall in which this Conference was held stands the statue of Oliver Cromwell, placed there by the British people as a notification to the royal family of England that the right of the British people to a representative Parliament is perpetual. It was

this man who won the struggle between arbitrary authority and Parliamentary government in the British Isles, and on the day they made this stand for destroying arbitrary authority in international affairs, these lawmakers sat down to luncheon in the hall where the British Parliament tried and sentenced Charles I.

So that, on the morning of July 23d, when the Prime Minister of Great Britain found himself confronted by 500 parliamentarians from all Europe and the greater part of America, the Idea of Parliamentary Government in international affairs was in the presence of the Government of Great Britain in the form of this Interparliamentary Union, and was about to take up the question of achieving for itself an official as well as an actual position in world politics. It was in this situation that the declaration of faith by the Government of Great Britain was made in the perpetual and irresistible power of the parliamentary principle in government. Immediately after this declaration the Conference entered upon the consideration of the report of the Commission proposing the conversion of the second Hague Conference into a permanent body. When the time came to vote on the proposition, no man was found to raise a voice against it.

The Idea of Representative Parliamentary Government, having firmly established itself in England, and having successfully fought for five hundred years in order to gain possession of all other parts

of the world, has now returned to England and called for its acceptance for the whole world by superimposing upon the national parliaments a permanent International Parliament, just as in federal governments interstate parliaments are superimposed upon state parliaments. Whatever any one may think in regard to the acceptance of this proposition by the second Hague Conference, and then by the several governments that will be represented in that Conference, there is no escape from the fact that the declaration made by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in regard to the certain resurrection of the buried Russian Parliament is equally true in regard to the formation of an International Parliament. The sovereigns of the world, whether royal families with Parliamentary adjuncts, or Parliaments with Executive adjuncts, will find no one Sovereign, nor any combination of Sovereigns, that can prevent the people of the several nations from applying, in the affairs which are common to all the nations, those political principles which have been found indispensable, not only to the preservation of peace inside of the particular governments, but to the preservation of the government itself.

After President Roosevelt had stated that he would call such a Conference in accordance with the Resolution of St. Louis, Mr. Bartholdt declared that there could be no question of party politics in such a great movement, and that if a Democrat had



WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

Taken on the Balcony of the Hotel Cecil, London, After the Peace
Congress of the World's Lawmakers.

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been President on the 24th day of September, 1904, he would have done what was done on that day by Theodore Roosevelt. Events have justified Mr. Bartholdt's declaration.

An American statesman who has twice been a candidate for the Presidency, and who is a Democrat of the old and true type, has not only shown that he would have done what President Roosevelt did in 1904, but that he is prepared to take a more advanced position in favor of this great movement for a system of law and order, duly declared and administered thru modern governmental machinery, and reaching to the furthest limit of human intercourse, than has yet been taken by any other American statesman having the same prominence in his own party. He has not gone any further, or even quite as far, as Mr. Bartholdt has gone, but he has gone as far as the exigency of the moment called for, and by going this far he has crystallized the sentiment of the most powerful organized body of international statesmen in the world, into a very progressive and practical form.

There are two deductions which must be drawn from this. The question of party politics in the matter of international arbitration is settled, as far as the United States is concerned. The present President of the United States brought the second Hague Conference into existence. The man who is most likely to be the next Democratic President, and whom many men of good judgment regard as the

most probable successor to President Roosevelt, has already lent his powerful influence to the idea of making that Conference permanent, and of founding the Hague Court on the solid ground of jurisdiction over specified classes of controversy, and of crowding the right to make war back to the point of permitting a judicial finding of the facts in *every* controversy, before the commencement of hostilities.

From this the second deduction follows, namely, the people in Europe who really want permanent peace, and who are willing to pay the price of peace, namely—surrender of the right to make war, coupled with the acquisition of the right to vote by ballots instead of by bullets in international affairs—can find in America an Executive who will lead them on to the realization of this noble end, whenever they are prepared to espouse it with anything like that devotion which was necessary to establish peace and prosperity within the borders of their respective countries.

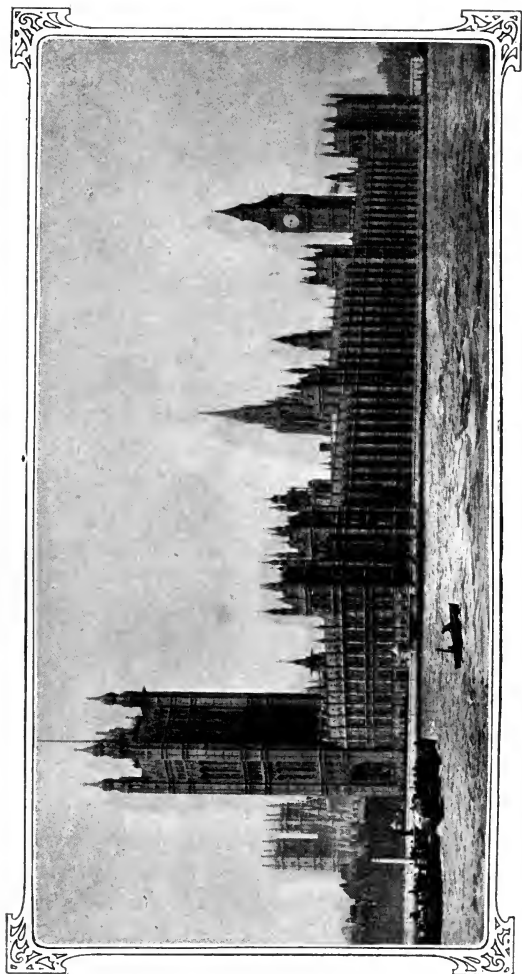


CHAPTER XXIV.

Opinions of Prominent Peace People

THE London Conference' of the Interparliamentary Union was full of personal as well as political interest. This was the second session held at the British capital, the former having been held here in 1890, the year after the Union was organized. The 1890 Conference took place at the Hotel Metropole, where the American headquarters were this time. Only a small company assembled there, and London took little notice of the event. Only sixteen years have elapsed, and such a revolution has been accomplished in that time that official London paid little attention to anything else while the Parliamentarians were here. Representatives were present from every Parliament of Europe, also from Canada, the United States and Japan. Among them were Cabinet Ministers, speakers of national assemblies, ex-Prime Ministers, Presidential possibilities. The Prime Minister of Great Britain was sent by the King to welcome them in his name, and to assure them that the King is in hearty sympathy with their aims.

After the work of the Conference was over I had the honor of lunching with Count Albert Apponyi, Minister of Education in Hungary, and Mr. James



WESTMINSTER PALACE, CONTAINING THE BRITISH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

Where the Fourteenth Interparliamentary Conference was held.

Bryce, who has charge of Irish affairs now. Both of these gentlemen regretted the necessity of doing routine ministerial work, as it leaves them so little time for the work they love to do. Mr. Bryce had to stop in the middle of a book on "Democracy as It Acts Today" to take office under the present Government, and to apply himself to the task of making Democracy act right in the Emerald Isle. With Apponyi placing all his hopes on making it react properly in Hungary, after many centuries of conflict with autocratic power, and with Mr. Bryce, the world's spokesman on the theory of democracy, before me, I felt justified in asking, "What is your opinion of the *future* of democracy?" Mr. Bryce gave a quick, surprised glance and said, "Wait till you see that book I had to stop writing."

Count Apponyi thinks grand work was accomplished at this session of the Interparliamentary Union. He says it is very significant that the King of England did not wait to be advised that the Interparliamentary Union was meeting at the British capital, but sent the Prime Minister to say, at the opening session, that he has a firm and unalterable sympathy for their aims. This never occurred at any former Conference. After the Conference was over the King received a delegation composed of representatives from each of the national groups. This is the third time such recognition has been accorded to the Union by the Head of a State. Roosevelt was first, Leopold of Belgium second, and

Edward VII third on the list of Chief Executives who have this distinction.

Count Apponyi said: "We have lost none of our confidence in Mr. Roosevelt, but we are rejoiced to welcome Mr. Bryan into the front ranks of our forces, and to know that he will be a great power in pushing our plans to an early and successful issue."

His Excellency Von Plener, of Austria, was highly pleased with the work of the Conference. For years he was the leader of the German party at Vienna, and was Minister of Finance at one time. His party (the German) was tempted to press for too many advantages for the German part of Austria, and Herr Von Plener refused to lead the party further than seemed to him to be fair and just for the other elements of Austria's life.

Count Apponyi says that Von Plener is too good a man for the Austrian Government as now being run, and that when such men as he are called back to power at Vienna, Austro-Hungarian matters will find a readier and a juster solution. Herr Von Plener was president of the Arbitration Commission, and is regarded by many as one of the wisest men in this Union. He told me that these Conferences affect the world's opinion, and that they afford an opportunity for the display of statesmanship of the highest order. Speaking publicly of the resolutions adopted at this Conference, he declared that the Powers will not be able to put these wise and timely

recommendations aside when they are presented to the Hague Conference.

After one of the sessions I had a long talk with Baron d'Estournelles, which pertained mainly to the plan for perpetuating the Hague Conference, for making treaties of arbitration as wide as possible, and for finding some way of ensuring a decreased appropriation for war, and a contemporaneous increase of national security.

Baron d'Estournelles has great hopes of accomplishing positive results from the adoption of his resolution calling for national inquiry into the question of armaments, so as to arrive, if possible, at an international agreement to limit and then reduce them.

Baron d'Estournelles had never met Mr. Bartholdt before. He had not been quite willing to accept my estimate of the man, preferring to see for himself. He said to me after the London conference: "You are right; Mr. Bartholdt is a good man. Our cause owes him much."

Of course, Mr. Cremer, the originator of the Union, was highly delighted, but there was no evidence of it externally. He invited me to take tea with him on the terrace of the King's Garden at Windsor Castle on the day that the Union declared for all these progressive plans. He has promised to write his reminiscences of this revolution for the readers of *The Independent*, so I must not trespass on this ground. But one word I may add here.



with best compliments
Vienna, Oct. 1905 *E Plener*

His Excellency, von Plener, ex-Secretary of the Austrian Treasury,
is President of the Interparliamentary Commission on Treaty of
Arbitration.

Looking at the five hundred members of the various Parliaments dispersed over the wide garden of Windsor Palace, and remembering the humble carpenter work which Mr. Cremer used to do (and well), I tried to make him show some sign of emotion. Failing in the first attempt, I said: "Your fidelity to an idea brought them here. Had you been unfaithful, what has been done today would not have been done." He did not answer for a time, but looked steadily at the far side of the palace garden, then turned and looked me square in the face and said: "I understand what you mean."

Baroness Von Suttner said, after the Conference was over:

"The plan proposed by Mr. Bartholdt will be adopted by the nations. We can now ask ourselves, 'What must be done to carry the world still higher, after the International Congress and courts are in proper operation?' "

The question deserves an answer. Who will seek for and make the proper reply?



CHAPTER XXV.

Bryan on the Path to Peace*

[The following is the substance of an interview with Mr. Bryan, which was kindly granted by him at the request of *The Independent*, during the London Peace Conference.—HAYNE DAVIS.]

MR. BRYAN remarked:
“This conference at London was called especially to consider the plan of campaign, proposed at Brussels last year by the Americans, for a determined war on war.

“It was composed exclusively of men who can be regarded as representatives of the idea of Parliamentary government, because every member of the Conference had been elected to a seat in the National Parliament of his own country.

“The Conference took place in the historic hall of Westminster Palace called the Royal Gallery, because it is the part of the palace which is reserved for the Sovereign when visiting the Parliament in person. On opposite sides of this historic hall hang the famous paintings by Maclise, portraying the victories of Nelson at Trafalgar and of Wellington at Waterloo.

“On July 23d these portraits were looking down upon one of the largest, if not the very largest, body of national lawmakers ever assembled together in an International Conference. The two commissions,

* Reprinted from *The Independent* of August 30th, 1906.

composed of twelve of the most eminent members of the Interparliamentary Union, appointed at Brussels, had filed their reports. The second Hague Conference, called in accordance with the resolution of this Union adopted at St. Louis in 1904, was in sight. The hour had come for deciding upon the ideas which this union of lawmakers regards as best calculated to open the path to peace, and as most worthy of the consideration of the forthcoming Hague Conference.

"While in Norway I had received an invitation from Lord Weardale, the president of the British group, to participate in the deliberations of this Conference. For two years I have availed myself of various opportunities to advocate an investigation of every international controversy by an impartial tribunal, prior to the commencement of hostilities; and I was glad of an opportunity to present this idea to such a large body of eminent statesmen. So I came to London in order to make a motion in favor of such a declaration by this Interparliamentary Conference. Upon my arrival I stated my wish to Lord Weardale and to Mr. Cremer, the President and the Honorable Secretary of the British group. They were kind enough to have my motion to this effect placed on the calendar of the Executive Committee of the Union, so that it came up for consideration at the first meeting. When the matter came up in this committee, I learned, for the first time, that the same idea which I had embodied in my mo-



HOTEL METROPOLE, LONDON.

American Headquarters at Fourteenth Interparliamentary Conference, 1906. Scene of Second Interparliamentary Conference, 1890.

tion was in the original treaty of arbitration, proposed at Brussels by Hon. Richard Bartholdt, president of the American group of the Interparliamentary Union.

"The Commission on Arbitration Treaty had omitted this idea from the draft of a treaty proposed by it for the adoption of the Conference, and in its place had proposed, not as a part of the treaty, but as a sort of postscript, a suggestion that, in all these questions reserved from the jurisdiction of the Hague Court for settlement on the field of battle, the disputant nations should call in friendly Powers, as mediators, before the commencement of hostilities. It seemed to me that the idea in this postscript, like the idea in the postscript of many letters, was equally as important as the substance of the document itself.

"The chairman of the Commission on Arbitration Treaty suggested the union of my motion for an investigation into the facts and of the commission's motion for mediation, in every controversy, prior to the commencement of hostilities. This union of the two ideas improved both of them.

"The Executive Council of the Conference requested me to address the assembly in favor of the motion thus amended. And I was rejoiced to see this motion approved unanimously by this assembly, which, as the British Premier so justly declared, 'is entitled to express, with an authority attaching to no other assembly in the world, the conscience, the rea-

son and the sentiments of a large and not the least influential portion of the human race.'

"The address of the Premier—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman—in opening this Conference, was not only memorable, but epoch-making. It contained several sentences, any one of which, issuing from such a source into such an assembly, would have justified this great conference of the world's national lawmakers. The motion which I had made was in direct line with this suggestion made by the Premier:

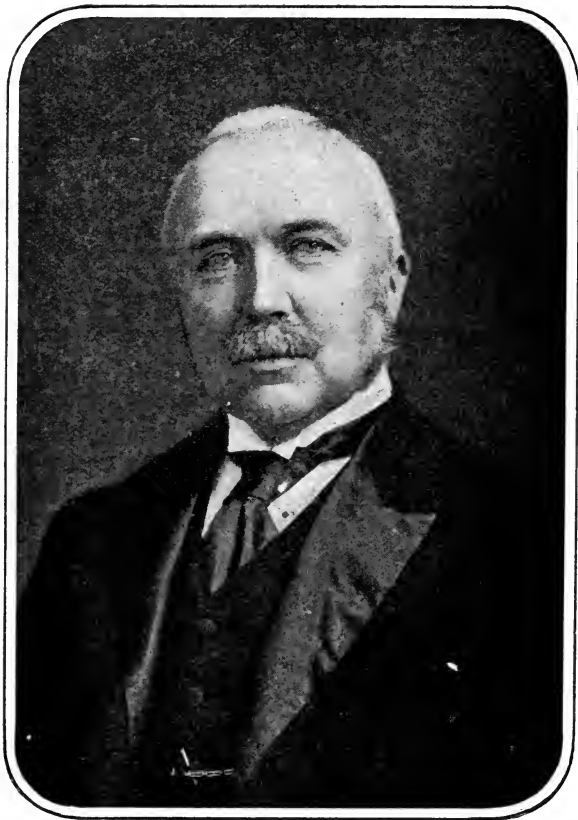
" 'Gentlemen, I fervently trust that before long the principle of arbitration may win such confidence as to justify its extension to a wider field of international differences. We have already seen how questions, arousing passion and excitement, have attained a solution, not by arbitration in the strict sense of the word, but by referring them to such a tribunal as that which reported on the North Sea incident, and I would ask you whether it may not be worth while carefully to consider, before the next Congress meets at The Hague, the various forms in which differences might be submitted, with a view to opening the door as wide as possible to every means which might in any degree contribute to moderate or compose such differences.'

"I was delighted to find that the idea which I had come to advocate was in line with what the Premier felt constrained to say in opening the Conference, and that Mr. Bartholdt had already proposed it at the Brussels session. I was happy to follow in his footsteps in advocating this plan for peace among these lawmakers from many nations. It seems to me that the adoption of this idea will open the path to peace. It solves the most difficult problem in re-

gard to war and peace, because it handles those questions which thus far have defied arbitration—questions supposed to affect the vital interests or the honor of the Powers concerned, and which they are unwilling, therefore, to remove from the arena of violent settlement to the precincts of any court. This idea furnishes a solution, because it leaves the nations free to appeal to arms as a last resort, and because it delays the exercise of this right until an investigation has cleared up disputed questions of fact, until cooling time has elapsed, and until the public sentiment of the world can be marshaled, so that all the moral forces can be united for compelling a peaceful settlement of *every* question which threatens the peace of *particular* nations, and the prosperity and welfare of *all* nations.

“These are the three reasons which I gave for the adoption of this motion. If an investigation into the facts of every case can be had, prior to the commencement of hostilities, the chances are 100 to 1 that you can find a settlement of both the question of fact and the question of honor without resorting to war. For with nations, as with individuals, *disputed* questions of fact cause most of the controversies. Clearly bring out the actual facts and the controversy disappears as a rule.

“In the second place, man excited is very different from man calm. When men are mad they swagger around and say what they *can* do. When they are calm they consider what they *ought* to do. The



SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

investigation gives times for the claims of conscience and reason to assert themselves.

"The third advantage is also very great. The investigation affords an opportunity to mobilize public opinion for the compelling of a peaceful settlement. Public opinion is becoming more and more a controlling power. Thomas Jefferson once said that if he had to choose between newspapers without a government and government without newspapers, he would rather risk the newspapers without a government. That may seem an extravagant statement. But it served to express and impress an idea—the idea that open avenues for the expression of opinion create a public opinion which is controlling, and which will be nearer right than an opinion formed by a government with freedom of speech suppressed.

"Providing as it does for the free play of all the moral forces of the world, for separating the question of fact from the question of honor, and for the calming of passion and the rousing of conscience and reason, before the decision to take up arms is made, this resolution is entitled to the fullest consideration of the governments, in their desire to open the door as wide as possible for peaceful settlement of controversies, as a result of the coming Conference at The Hague.

"In laying so much stress upon this idea, I do not desire to underrate the others adopted by the Conference—*i. e.*, for establishing the International Conferences upon a firm foundation by making provision

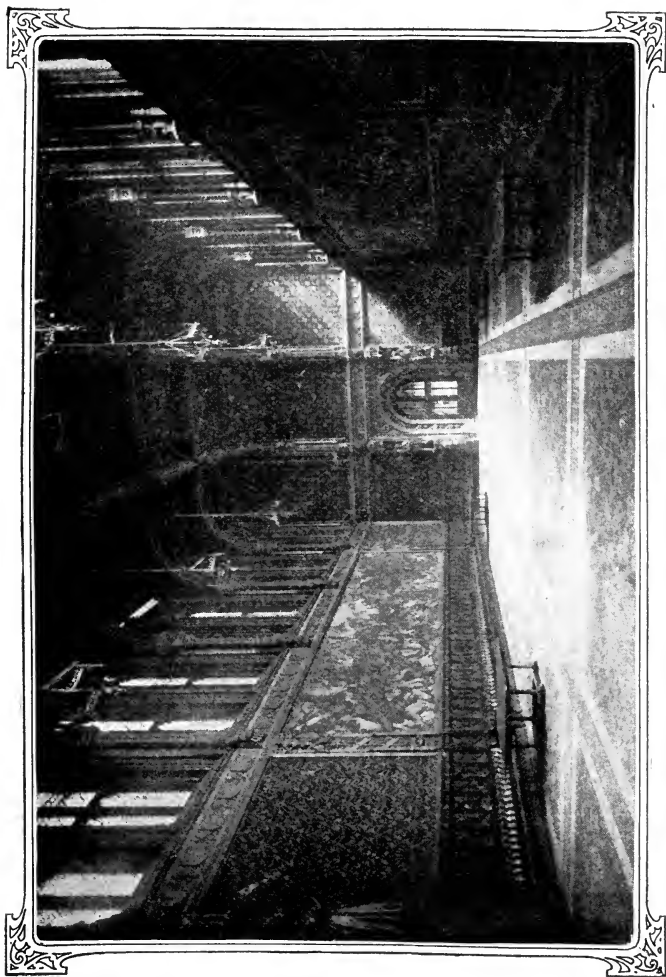
for their periodic assembling; for granting jurisdiction to the Hague Court to *try and finally* to determine specified classes of questions; for national consideration of the question of armaments, with a view to an international agreement to limit or reduce them, etc. This resolution supplements these others, and in the way most apt to decrease the danger of war to the very lowest possible point.

"I am much interested to learn that Mr. Bartholdt proposed this step on the path to peace to the Conference at Brussels, on the very day that President Roosevelt re-established peace in Asia. I wrote President Roosevelt an open letter, as soon as peace was concluded, suggesting that he avail himself of the prestige which this gave him, to propose this idea as a means of preventing the recurrence of such calamities. Mr. Bartholdt and I were arriving at the same conclusions independently, and were availing ourselves of the avenues open to us, at the time, to give expression to these conclusions. Events brought us together at London to co-operate in securing the endorsement of this idea and of other important ideas which pertain to the world's peace. I was indeed happy to find that I could lend my influence to the adoption of ideas for which the American delegation was already the sponsor, and which do open the way to permanent peace. I must express some of the high appreciation which I think is due from us all to Mr. Bartholdt for his conspicuous service in this cause.

"In regard to the question of limiting armaments by an international agreement, this has seemed to me a question which primarily concerns Europe, so I have not given it due consideration. I will do so, however, at the earliest possible moment, in view of the resolution adopted at this Conference. Baron d'Estournelles was much pleased with an illustration which I suggested to him, and insisted on my making use of it in my address at the Westminster Hall *dejeuner*, tho I wanted him to do so.

"Suppose three men living near the same lake and a fourth man with a plant for building boats and for manufacturing arms conveniently near. This man says to A that his safety depends on having a boat well armed, for fear of an attack by B or C. Thereupon A gives an order for one boat well armed. He then goes to B and says A is building one boat, don't you think that you need two? Then he goes to C and says, A is building one boat, B is building two, does not your safety depend on placing an order for three better boats, better armed? And so the three men, who need to aid each other, burden themselves and increase their danger of destruction by squandering their resources on armed boats.

"This Conference has carried us far on the path toward permanent peace. It has proposed the taking of the longest steps that can be taken on that path. The ideas which will open the way as wide as possible now have able advocates at every capital of Europe. The governments could not be expect-



ROYAL GALLERY OF WESTMINSTER PALACE.

Where the Fourteenth Interparliamentary Conference was held. The Sovereign occupies this gallery when attending the sessions of the Parliament in person.

ed to adopt these ideas until the progressive statesmen of many countries declare for them. This has now occurred, and under circumstances of great historic interest. And the lovers of peace and justice have great cause for rejoicing. But, of course, permanent peace must be founded on justice, and justice is impossible without the full recognition of our relations and duties to others and the full performance of them. This depends upon a realization of the brotherhood of man, an appreciation of the value of life as life, the prevalence of love among the people of all countries.

"Permanent peace and justice depend upon the manifestation of love in all hearts, so that we would be horrified at the thought of the taking of life by the people of one country at war with the people of another, as we now are at this between members of the same family or community or state. The race is but a larger family. The world is awaking to this fact, and to the need of providing for peace and justice founded on this fact.

"By the resolutions of this Conference something has been done, perhaps a great deal has been done, to hasten the day when we shall all be appalled at the thought of war between any of the nations and when we shall all strive to raise every controversy to the level of a settlement by reason instead of force.

"God has not made strength depend upon violence. The world will not degenerate when it abandons armed conflicts and carries all its controversies to

the courts of justice. Men become strong in standing steadfastly for what they think is right, in the midst of prevailing opinion to the contrary. This strength is the strength to be desired. And if my strength depended upon destroying my brethren I would rather not grow strong.

“Standing in the midst of this assembly of national lawmakers, in the Royal Gallery of Westminster Palace, hallowed by the memory of such men as Gladstone, who manifested so conspicuously the power that comes from struggling for the right and always in the realm of reason, with the paintings of Nelson’s death at Trafalgar and of Wellington’s victory at Waterloo looking down upon us, I was compelled, in speaking to the Conference, to contrast these scenes. I had to say that I understand how the dangers of war, bravely met, bring out great characteristics; that war gives opportunity for the display of patriotism; that the example of men who have given their lives for their country is an inspiring thing; but that there is as great inspiration in a noble life as in a heroic death. And I expressed the hope that this union of the world’s lawmakers will aid in awaking mankind to the fact that a life lived for the public, overflowing like a spring with good, influences the destiny of the world as much as any death upon the field of battle. The sixty-four years of spotless public service of William Ewart Gladstone will some day be recognized as shedding upon England’s history a light as great as that from any of her

military heroes. And that life left no horrors to hang forever around the memory of the man. In the paintings which hung before us the glory and the horror of war were depicted. Lord Nelson was represented as dying, and around him were the mangled forms of others. Those whose strength comes in the moral struggle to establish permanent peace and righteousness, are no weaker than these heroes, and there is nothing in the remembrances of them which revolts the soul, only that which uplifts."

Before I advised Mr. Bryan that *The Independent* desired him to express his views for its columns, he had been speaking to me as secretary of the American delegation.* What he said was not said for publication, therefore. But under the circumstances I feel justified in speaking of it, because it reveals character.

Mr. Bryan made his first speech in Europe three years ago. In it he spoke of the priceless political treasures which Americans have inherited, in common with Englishmen, and of what the English have added to this inheritance since we separated from them and what we in America have added to it. He declared our duty of proving ourselves worthy of this rich legacy, and then pointed out how our chief way of doing this was to widen the application of those principles of political liberty which we have inherited from the past, and particularly by their application in the relations between nations.

I recalled this speech to his mind, and then said

that when he made it I felt that he had a large part to play in accomplishing this, and that the action of the Conference upon his motion had satisfied me of it; also that the events now transpiring in America made me believe he would be the next President, so that the time to do it was near at hand. Mr. Bryan replied:

"Mr. Davis, I am not sure that it is for me to be President. I have to antagonize established errors so constantly that I sometimes think a man should be at Washington, even in case of Democratic success, who has not been compelled to fight so incessantly. But, in addition to this, if I think of how my actions are going to affect my chances of election to office, or even the party's chances of success, I lose my liberty. I don't know that the Presidency will ever be my proper place. I do know that the advocacy of what I consider right is always my proper place. So I have put the question of election to office out of mind, and claim for myself my liberty of advocating the ideas which I think right. If the Presidency comes on that basis, well and good. If not, I have fulfilled my function among my fellow men."

CHAPTER XXVI.

Parliamentary and Interparliamentary Reminiscences.*

AN INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM RANDAL CREMER.

[Mr. Cremer is the originator of the Interparliamentary Union. He has received the Nobel Prize of \$40,000 for the most effective work in the promotion of peace. He devoted this money to the cause of peace by giving it to the International Arbitration League, of which he is the founder. His services to the cause of international concord, and to the cause of the working people thruout Europe, induced M. Carnot, President of the French Republic, to bestow upon him the Cross of the Legion of Honor. These reminiscences come from Mr. Cremer thru an interview between him and Mr. Hayne Davis.—EDITOR.]

MY habit is to work, not to talk, and we are at this moment involved in the multitude of duties incidental to the adjournment of the House next week; and all the detail work which remains in the wake of the Fourteenth Interparliamentary Conference falls upon me. Then I must publish an issue of *The Arbitrator*, which has been the organ and weapon of our cause for twenty years. But for a certain debt of gratitude to *The Independent*, which I have been unable even to acknowledge heretofore, I would say it is impossible for me to comply with its request for Reminiscences of Parliamentary and Interparliamentary Life from a workingman's point of view. Aside from acknowledging our debt to *The Independent* for its able advocacy of the cause of arbitration, without

*Reprinted from THE INDEPENDENT of August 30, 1906.

which those recent propitious events could hardly have taken place, it is a pleasure to give some idea of the part which has been played by labor men and labor organizations in speeding this movement toward a successful issue.

Turning my face backward, I see standing out conspicuously the nine months' lockout of 1850. I was one of the labor leaders in that fierce conflict—one of the severest ever waged in England, and which involved at least half a million people, counting only the workmen directly involved and their families.

When it came to an end I felt compelled to find a solution for the labor problem. Organization and arbitration seemed to me to open the way to a solution. And I spent the next two decades organizing unions among British workmen and strengthening the sentiment for arbitration in industrial matters. Last year a memorial, which I had the honor of preparing, was sent to Washington, in advocacy of the Hay treaties of arbitration, bearing the signatures of 7,432 elected leaders of British labor, industrial and provident associations, having a membership of nearly three million persons. Many things had to be done and endured before that document could cross the Atlantic.

A workingman had to get into the House of Commons; numberless meetings in favor of international arbitration had to be held on the Continent, as well as in England; the Interparliamentary Union had

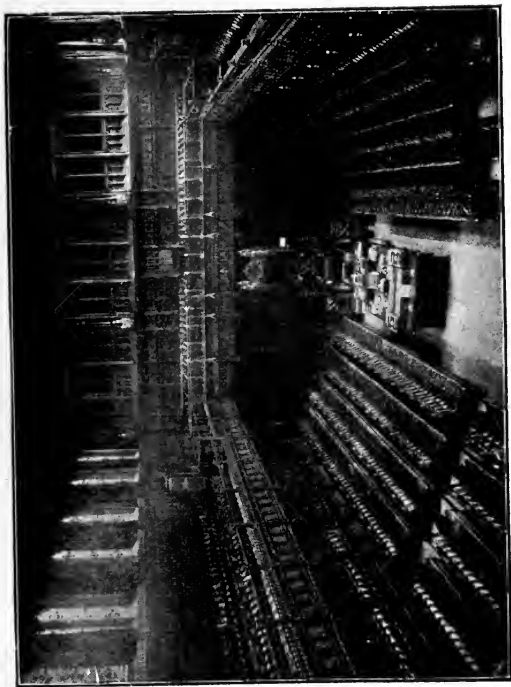
to be organized and developed into a powerful body, in the face of ridicule where assistance ought to have been received, to say nothing of the vast efforts involved in the creation of these labor and industrial organizations. Many men and many years of effort were taken up in this work. It was not a simple thing even to make a beginning by finding a seat in the House of Commons for a workingman.

The thought was strong in this country that there is no place in Parliament for a laborer. Then, too, no salary is attached to the office, which makes another very great difficulty.

But in 1868 several of us decided to stand for seats, and I was put up for the Borough of Warwick. One of my treasures is a clock, presented to me by the Workingmen's Liberal Association of Warwick, in memory of that campaign. It was not till 1885 that I entered the House, and I found eleven workingmen there when I took my seat for Haggerston, the district I now represent. We were called the "Twelve Apostles."

I had long regarded war with horror; industrial war, international war, all kinds of war, except standing for principle against all opposition. I make it a rule to act according to principle, and I always call for a division of the House when a principle is involved.

Being opposed to the Boer war on principle, I voted every time against providing men and money to wage that dishonorable and infamous struggle.



INTERIOR OF THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS,
Where the Concerted Movement for International Arbitration Was
Initiated by William Randal Cremer.

On one occasion only six other members of the House stood with me.

I was one of the few rabid anti-war members who succeeded in retaining his seat. A bright spot in my sky is this message which I received, after the election in 1900, from Sir William Harcourt:

"Your election is the one blue patch in a black sky."

Parliamentary life disillusioned one in many respects.

I remember going once to John Bright, accompanied by several hopeful companions, with a progressive plan for the people's welfare. Mr. Bright was very sympathetic, but said: "I do not wish to dishearten you, but I think you will get nothing done along that line while Lord Palmerston is here." We found this to be true. But Palmerston disappeared in due time, and a nobler man was elevated to the Premiership—Gladstone.

Despite all the temporary successes of the unworthy which I have witnessed, and despite all my disappointments during these two decades of public life, I can see, in looking back and around me, that the men of principle win in the long run.

Here we have Campbell-Bannerman as Prime Minister, elevated because he has stood for principle during many dark years, like a lighthouse with its beacon always burning. Then there was Gladstone, always fighting for the right, and more suc-

cessful than any other modern public man of our country.

Then we have fifty-six labor members of the House now, instead of not one, as the case stood in 1868.

There is a great cause for encouragement in the contemplation of these things, aside from the marvelous success of our movement for international arbitration. I made international arbitration one of the planks of my platform in the unsuccessful effort for a seat in the House in the year 1868. So far as I know no candidate had previously advocated, and pledged himself to support, treaties of arbitration. As soon as I did win a seat I made good that pledge. *The Independent* has already given an account of the preparation of that memorial, to which I secured the signatures of 233 of my associates in Parliament. How little I expected one of the great capitalists of the United States—Mr. Andrew Carnegie—and the rising labor leader—Mr. Samuel Gompers—to be my chief sympathizers upon arriving in Washington with this memorial, in October, 1887!

Mr. Carnegie not only arranged for the interview with Mr. Cleveland, but did our delegation many honors, among which was an excursion to Pittsburg in a private car as his guests. There were ten members of the House of Commons, one member of the House of Lords—Lord Kinnaird—and three

representatives of the "Trades Union Congress" in the delegation.

Mr. Cleveland received our memorial most courteously and sympathetically.

We were very grateful for this opportunity to lay the matter so near to our hearts before the Chief Executive of that country which we regarded as able to put arbitration into actual practice most fully and quickly. And we were inspired with hope by Mr. Cleveland's words.

This interview was the prelude to what followed. The press and people of America acclaimed our mission, and we soon became known as "The Peace Commissioners." One or two discordant notes which made themselves heard only served to heighten the harmony of this memorable visit to America. Encouraged on all sides, we returned to Europe, and the Interparliamentary Union grew out of the continuance of our efforts. But in retracing our footsteps of these early efforts I cannot leave America without going again to the home of Whittier. I told the Rev. R. B. Howard, secretary of the American Peace Society, that Mr. Whittier was a great inspiration to me, and he consented to take me to his home. My reception was very cordial. "You are just the man I wanted to see. I was afraid you had all gone without coming to see me," was the kindly word with which I was greeted. I replied that I could not think of leaving America without calling upon him to thank him personally for the



The White Cross Indicates Mr. Cremer's Rooms, Overlooking
Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.

great service he had rendered to the cause of Peace and for the inspiration I had received from his writings. During the visit I asked him to write a line for me as a souvenir. He left the room and returned with a volume of his poems, on the flyleaf of which he had written the following words, saying, as he handed me the volume: "This line from Ossian has been running in my mind all the evening":

The battle ceased along the plains, for the bards had sung the songs of Peace.—*Ossian*.

Let us hope that from henceforth the bards will only sing the songs of Peace, and that, as in the days of Ossian, the battle will cease.

With hearty sympathy in the noble mission of my friend Cremer, I am glad to place my name in this volume.

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

The Independent has kept its readers so fully informed of our interparliamentary plans, particularly since the St. Louis session of 1904, that I must express my gratitude for this, and pass over these important events with only a few personal allusions. When we landed in New York the 1st of September, 1904, I must confess that I had not let my hopes rise high.

My mission in the United States in 1887 had encouraged me to continued effort, but it did not result in a treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain. I had prepared another memorial in 1896, secured the signatures of 354 members of Parliament, and come to Washington in high hopes. Mr. Cleveland was again the occupant of

the White House, and he threw himself into the negotiation of a treaty which, in my judgment, is superior to any other arbitration treaty which has thus far been drafted. But this treaty failed of ratification by the Senate. These experiences taught me to moderate my hopes of actual results, so far as the United States is concerned. Furthermore, I had some fear that our being invited to America in 1904 was for political purposes. I did not know that Mr. Bartholdt intended to introduce a resolution calling for the convening of a second conference at The Hague, to discuss the questions raised at the first, but not acted upon; also the creation of a permanent deliberative body to supplement the Hague Court, and, lastly, the granting of jurisdiction to that Court thru treaties of arbitration. My doubts began to disappear when this resolution was passed at our St. Louis session. When President Roosevelt promised, on September 24th, 1904, to call a conference of the nations, in accordance with our resolution, my fears were all dissipated.

President Roosevelt not only made this promise, but he told us that even then the United States was entering upon negotiations for a treaty of arbitration *with all nations willing to take such a step*. Our visit to America was brought to an official end by a banquet at the Arlington Hotel that night. In this same room, seventeen years before, our little delegation of 1887 had broken bread in gratitude for the

words of encouragement which Mr. Cleveland spoke in favor of *one* treaty of arbitration.

I saw around me more than 200 members of fourteen of the world's most important parliaments, representative of 2,000 members, strongly organized into a great and growing union, and daring to take a stand for these progressive plans. My hopes of many years seemed on the point of realization, on a scale grander than I had even dared to picture to myself, and yet upon the initiative of the United States, just as I had instinctively felt to be proper when I began the "concerted movement" that has resulted in these things.

In presenting the memorial to Mr. Cleveland, I asked this question, which was put to me many times while I was securing signatures to the memorial: "Why was not this proposal made to our own Parliament and Government rather than to the President and Congress of the United States?" And then I answered that "the Government of the United States, being free from the Old World broils and complications, is of all governments most favorably circumstanced for taking the initiative. No suspicion of ulterior designs or unworthy motives could attach to a proposal from you (the President of the United States) or your Congress."

And on September 24th, 1904, I was overjoyed by the initiative which the United States was taking, in compliance with the request of the organization which sprang from that first concerted movement.



M. ARMAND FALLIERES,
President of the French Republic.

And in this foretaste of our ultimate success I could not suppress a desire that our King should be associated with the President of the United States in taking these long steps forward. Without a moment for reflection, I expressed the belief that the success of this plan would be assured if President Roosevelt would associate with himself, in issuing the invitations to the proposed conference, Edward the Peacemaker. There were insuperable obstacles to the realization of that wish, in the form of a joint invitation by the two branches of the British people, but events have happily opened the way for the essential thing I desired. The Russo-Japanese War necessitated the postponement of the proposed conference until the year 1907. Meanwhile, Mr. Bartholdt took another step forward by proposing, at our Brussels session (1905) several points as a proper basis on which to found a Permanent International Parliament, and the draft of a general treaty of arbitration, granting jurisdiction to the Hague Court over the questions included in it.

Commissions were appointed to pass on these two propositions, and upon the filing of their reports it was decided to call a conference of our Union to meet at London July 23d, so as to have the Union approve these reports, for presentation to the second Hague Conference. Our friends had secured control of the British Government, and, in consequence, the Government was generous in its finan-

cial aid for this Fourteenth Conference of our Union.

In opening the Conference the British Premier made a remarkable address, which contained several ideas, any one of which, Mr. Bryan declared, would have justified this assembling together of more than half a thousand national lawmakers. I wish to cite several of these ideas, which seem to me most important:

"You are entitled to express, with an authority attaching to no other assembly in the world, the conscience, the reason and the sentiments of a large and not the least influential portion of the human race. In addressing you I feel that I am not so much speaking to representatives of divers states of Europe and America, as to the exponents of principles and hopes that are common to us all, and without which our life on earth would be a life without horizon or prospect.

"With the purpose of your mission . . . His Majesty's Government desire unreservedly to associate themselves. . . . Let me recall the words addressed to your Conference in 1900 by the distinguished man who is now President of the French Republic:

"There is no resistance which will not disappear finally before the might of an idea, when that idea draws its power from the sacred source of fraternity."

The ideas we advocate are true, and do draw their power from the sacred source of fraternity: and the disappearance of resistance before their might is well illustrated by two interviews which I had with Lord Rosebery after these words were spoken by M. Fallières, President of the French Senate. Lord Rosebery was in charge of the Foreign Office when I first called on him to aid us in our movement for a general treaty of arbitration with

the United States. I remember well how coldly he received my suggestions and how strongly he argued against the principle of a general treaty. Among other objections he insisted that it is impossible to secure an impartial tribunal.

After the conference of our Union at Rome I found myself unable to rest in mind until I had drafted a resolution calling upon the British Government to enter into negotiations with the United States for the conclusion of a general treaty of arbitration. Upon my return to England and the House of Commons I introduced this resolution. Under our system of procedure it was two years before I could get this motion up for discussion. But finally I succeeded. It occupied the attention of the House during a whole evening. Gladstone made a magnificent address in favor of it, and it was adopted by a unanimous vote—a rare thing in the British House of Commons.

Before sailing for America with the second memorial in 1897, and with a copy of the resolution, I called upon Lord Rosebery to advise him of my mission and to ask his assistance. He had ascended from the Foreign Office to the Premiership, and I was astonished and delighted to find him very cordial to the idea of a general treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and the United States. I expressed my gratification, and then took the liberty of reminding his Lordship of our former interview, and of the arguments he then advanced against this idea.



TAKING TEA ON THE TERRACE OF THE HOUSE OF
COMMONS

William Randal Cremer

Delegate from the
Parliament of
Finland

Theodore E. Burton,
U. S. Congress.

He replied that, as Prime Minister, he was bound to give effect to the resolution which had been unanimously approved by the House. I then asked him if I could say to Mr. Cleveland that he was ready to conclude a treaty. He replied, "You can say that to Mr. Cleveland and to our Ambassador, Sir Julian Pauncefote"; and I did so. This reversal of the attitude of a man of such eminence in our politics is one of the interesting incidents in my Parliamentary experience; and it leads naturally to the condition which now confronts us. Our Union has declared for (1) converting the International Conference, called at its request, into a permanent institution; (2) granting jurisdiction to the Hague Court thru treaties of arbitration; (3) making national appropriations annually in aid of international arbitration; (4) national study of armaments preparatory to international discussion of this question, with a view to the reduction and arrest of war appropriations. The present Premier of Great Britain, knowing that these ideas are on our program, and before he is asked to act in the matter, assures us that the Government of Great Britain desires unreservedly to associate itself with our purposes. It has already been decided by the British group of our Union to ask for an interview with him, in order that we may request him to take the necessary steps to give effect to the resolutions of the Union approved at the recent session.

The committee appointed to call upon him is com-



SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President of the American Federation of Labor.

posed of Lord Weardale, our president; Lord Welley, Rt. Hon. Sir John Brunner, Colonel Sir C. E. Howard Vincent, myself, all being members of the executive committee of our group. Other members may be added to this committee.

The other day, as I was passing thru the corridor of the Palace, of which the House of Commons is a part, Lord Avebury stopped me. It was he who seconded my motion for a treaty with the United States. He said: "How little we supposed that these things would come to pass in less than a decade when I seconded your motion." We had just attended the dejeuner in Westminster Hall, presided over by the Lord Chancellor, and attended by over 500 members of the World's Parliaments, who constituted our Union. This historic Fourteenth Conference, seeing all that has happened during the past decade—more than a quarter of a hundred general treaties of arbitration actually concluded, aside from these far-reaching plans for the immediate future—my mind goes back to the scene at Washington when we presented the first memorial to Mr. Cleveland. We can say to our Premier, as we said to Mr. Cleveland, the difficulties in the way of the practical application of our principles are not insurmountable if an earnest desire to overcome them exists. We were satisfied that this desire existed amongst the masses of the people in 1887.

We are satisfied that it exists now amongst those

who have their hands on the helms of the several governments.

Thus the way is opened for Edward the Peacemaker to associate himself with President Roosevelt, in causing the Second Hague Conference to bring forth these fruits, which are foreshadowed in the resolutions of our Union, adopted at St. Louis in 1904 and at London in 1906.



Representative Peacemakers

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Man and the Movement*

BY HAYNE DAVIS

[The great political movement of the world is for the perfecting of a system of international arbitration so that judicial decisions may be substituted for war between nations. Having given our readers some prophetic articles on the coming events in this movement, we wish now to give an appreciation of the man who has led in the accomplishment of the anticipated results. On the wide horizon of world politics we can see no man who has done more during the past year to promote the cause of peace and narrow the area of war than Richard Bartholdt. He has determined the conduct of nations, he has profoundly influenced public sentiment, and has brought into practical politics the idea that will ultimately do away with war.—EDITOR.]

ONE night during the year 1874 two young men were occupants of a front third-story room on Noble street, Philadelphia. Henry Hildebrand had retired before his companion came in and was half asleep when he heard the words, "See this!" It was the last five cents which Richard Bartholdt, aged nineteen years, possessed. And having shown it to his companion, he threw it out of the window and went to bed.

While he is asleep we can go back to Schleiz, in Germany, the capital of Reus, a principality of Thuringia, which lies just west of Saxony. Here on November 2d, 1855, Richard Bartholdt was born. His father, Gottlob A. Bartholdt, was involved in

* Reprinted from *The Independent* (130 Fulton Street, New York City), issue of March 16th, 1905.



HON. RICHARD BARTHOLDT,
President of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union.

the Revolution of 1848, which endeavored to establish American political principles in Germany. He fled to the United States in 1849, but returned in 1851 and made peace with the Government. Four years later Richard was born. He was given the usual German education, and as soon as he was thru college he came to America, for the ambition of his youth was to become "an American citizen."

On the house in which he was born there is now a tablet, placed there by order of the City Council of Schleiz, which bears this inscription: "House in which Richard Bartholdt, American Parliamentarian, was born."

He is more than an *American* Parliamentarian, however deserving of this recognition by the place of his birth. For, since the events of 1904, he was elected President of the *International* Parliament, composed of members of the national legislatures of the world, and has caused that body to declare for the convening of a conference of nations to consider the creation of a permanent Parliament of Nations, for the preservation of peace and the establishment of justice among nations.

He is a man of quick decision and action, with great power of penetration and of clear and convincing statement of the truth. He is hopeful, generous, large-minded in all his dealings and rises high above party politics. He imparts good feeling wherever he goes and is noted for his willingness at all times to serve others. He is a man of faith

in the right, courageous, cannot be driven forward nor held back by others, but moves and acts freely as prompted from within. And for these reasons his career has been a continually advancing one. For years he was the only Republican Congressman from Missouri. His first entry into politics was in 1887, when he was defeated for the Republican nomination by two votes in the convention. He was immediately afterward elected a member of the School Board of St. Louis, the fourth city in the United States. In 1889 he was again defeated for the nomination by only one vote and was at once elected President of the School Board. The third time he won the nomination by a two-thirds majority and appeared at Washington for the first time in 1892, just twenty years after his arrival in America. He has just entered upon his seventh term. His nomination has been by acclamation and he has won at the polls by an increased majority at every intervening election. This year his majority was unprecedented, being 2,000 in excess of the vote cast for Roosevelt, and he is the only Congressman who received more votes than were given to Roosevelt in his district. And yet while other Congressmen were fighting for their seats, ignorant of the great event about to occur or indifferent to it, Mr. Bartholdt was spending one of the two months just before the election in this work for the world's welfare, and went to his constituency fresh from the performance of the greatest piece of political work ever done in one

year by one man in promoting the peace of the world.

Between this achievement and the penniless night in Philadelphia there were thirty years of continual victory over obstacles. In addition to what has been said it ought to be mentioned that he began the exercise of his American citizenship as a typesetter for the *Brocklyn Free Press*. And his rise was thru all the stages of newspaper work to editor-in-chief.

One event in this ascent deserves a passing notice. In 1883 the hour came for connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by rail. The tracks of the Northern Pacific Railroad were creeping toward each other, one advancing from the East; the other from the West. So the great Villard excursion was prepared in order that a party of distinguished men could be present to see the golden nail driven which would bind the Eastern and Western sections together. Mr. Ottendorfer, editor of the *Staats-Zeitung*, was invited to go. He sent Mr. Bartholdt in his place. So that it was the privilege of this German "American citizen" to report to the world from the heights of the Rocky Mountains that this continent was spanned and the two oceans united by steam. He came down from this material mountain to conceive the idea which would inspire him to do and dare that the nations may rise, as he expressed it in Congress on the 19th day of January last, "to the intellectual height of the twentieth cen-

tury, where the imperative demand is justice and good will among men," and may institute the political machinery necessary. While foreign editor of the *Staats-Zeitung*, with his eyes on the events in all parts of the world, the idea came to him that peace between *all* nations is essential to the welfare of *every* nation. This idea, coupled with his experience in practical politics, prepared him for leadership in the Peace movement at the critical moment. In the year that Mr. Bartholdt entered American politics Mr. William Randal Cremer began his agitation in world politics for treaties of arbitration. The men were acting in ignorance of each other, but were preparing to be of supreme value to the same cause.

By 1889 many members of European Parliaments had rallied around the idea suggested by Mr. Cremer and formed the Interparliamentary Union, which now contains more than two thousand members, all of whom have won seats in a National Parliament. While this organization was growing to a position of power in world politics Mr. Bartholdt was being prepared in the school of practical politics to take command of it, and through it to point the nations to the way that leads to Peace.

In 1899 when the Interparliamentary Union met at Christiania Mr. Bartholdt was present, because his abhorrence of war has grown in proportion to the growth of his intelligence, because this has enabled him to recognize in the Interparliamentary

Union an effectual instrument for waging a victorious war on war. ..

It was in this year (1899) that The Hague Court had come into being. As constituted, however, that Court was without authority, every nation remaining free to fight out every controversy if it should prefer war to trial by this Court. And there being no Congress to declare the law which The Hague Court must apply, Mr. Bartholdt was quick to see the next step forward—namely, a Congress to supplement this Court.

At this meeting in Christiania he was impressed also with the fact that nations were unrepresented in the Interparliamentary Union if they have no Parliament for their national affairs. He realized then that Peace can come only after the creation of a Parliament for International Affairs in which all nations have representatives irrespective of the form of their Government.

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition having been organized at his suggestion, Mr. Bartholdt determined to make the decisive move in international politics. He was the only American Congressman in the Interparliamentary Union at that time. Having held all its sessions in Europe, the Union was practically unknown on this side of the Atlantic. The idea which he desired to have it stand for was far above the ordinary vision of the ordinary politician. But undaunted, he proceeded to Vienna, where the 1903 session was to be held. The United

States Ambassador was absent, so he was absolutely alone. For some years the Union has met only at a National Capital and under an appropriation for defraying the costs of the meeting. The delegates from Denmark were bearers of an official invitation and a guarantee of an appropriation. By the exhibition of a courage worthy of the representative of a great nation, Mr. Bartholdt stood valiantly and successfully for the United States as the proper place for the next session. After his eloquent address, delivered in French, English and German, the delegation from Denmark withdrew their invitation, and the invitation of Mr. Bartholdt was unanimously accepted by the Eminent European Lawmakers assembled at this memorable session of the Union.

The same thing which made the boy lie down and sleep in peace, with no provision for the coming day, enabled the man to bring this body of national lawmakers to the United States without provision for their entertainment. Having taken this bold stand for the good of humanity, he returned to the United States, secured an appropriation for the entertainment of the Union more royally than they had ever been entertained before, and gathered around him a group of Congressmen to stand for arbitration and to become members of the Interparliamentary Union. This group contains now about one hundred members, both political parties being represented.

These things were not accomplished, however, without courage and effort. There were voices within and without whispering that it was too much to expect, but to all these suggestions Mr. Bartholdt gave a prompt reply that Congress was bound to make the appropriation and aid in this great move; that the United States and its legislators could not be so small as to shrink from the steps which must now be taken by the United States in fulfilling its twentieth century mission in the great political movement of the times. When his bill for \$50,000 to entertain the Union came up not one voice was raised against it.

This being accomplished, he appeared at the Lake Mohonk Arbitration Conference in June, 1904. This Conference was presided over by Hon. George Gray, one of the American members of The Hague Court. It was attended by over 300 persons, among whom were a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, a number of jurists and lawmakers of high repute, Federal and State; eminent professional and business men, educators and ministers. Mr. Bartholdt was one of those who decided the action of this body, and it declared, without a dissenting voice, for the creation of a Permanent Congress of Nations.

When the Parliamentarians from Europe reached New York in September Mr. Bartholdt was ready to receive them and to conduct them to the great work to be done at St. Louis and Washington.

On the night of September 12th Mr. Francis, President of the Exposition, entertained the Inter-parliamentary party at dinner. Rising after dinner to address his guests, Mr. Francis alluded to their aim—the substitution of judicial decisions for war, to the vast territory of Louisiana, in which they were assembled to discuss practical plans for furthering this aim, to the cost of Louisiana a century ago, no more than had been spent for the Exposition. He then declared that, if nothing else were accomplished by the Exposition than to render them substantial assistance in this great movement for the peace of the world, this vast expenditure of treasure and toil would have been well made.

On the following day, at 12.30, in the Hall of Congresses, the now famous Resolution of St. Louis, drawn by Mr. Bartholdt, was unanimously adopted by this World's Parliament, of which he had been chosen President.

Declaring as it did for the convening of a conference of nations to consider the universal execution of treaties of arbitration and the creation of a Congress of Nations in which every nation shall have representatives, this resolution is now, and will some day be universally recognized as, the greatest international instrument yet brought forth. In addressing the United States Congress on January 19th, 1905, Mr. Bartholdt called it the Magna Charta of Nations.

Was Mr. Bartholdt's connection with this event

accidental or superficial? There is no accident. Leadership in such a movement cannot be accidental.

Why was it that Mr. Bartholdt should be the *first to see and to stand in a National Parliament for the idea that will perpetuate peace, which alone can accomplish this?* Why was it that he drafted the resolution which was unanimously adopted by this great body of ideal national lawmakers, thus bringing into our national politics and into world politics, in a practical way, the idea which in time will substitute for war a duly constituted International Congress, with suitable courts and other governmental machinery for the administration of justice among nations? Mr. Bartholdt was ready and able to stand for this, to lead the thought of national lawmakers to this high.

Much is said for peace and against war, but seldom does any idea come forth that has not been as well or better expressed before. But Mr. Bartholdt has contributed to the literature of the Peace Movement as well as led in the conduct of action. I can cite only one instance in the limits of an article like this.

At St. Louis he said:

"We meet here today, not as individuals riding a hobby to please our fancy, but as lawmakers clothed with authority by the votes of the people, and while we have not been expressly delegated by the people to serve the specific purpose which has brought us together, we feel that no grander service could be rendered any constituency, anywhere under the sun, than the service which would result in lessening the possibilities of war. We are pledged to render

such service by creating a public sentiment and by using whatever influence we may possess in the several legislative bodies to which we have been elected in favor of law and justice in international relations as against brute force; in favor of right as against might. In other words, we ask—aye, we demand—that differences between nations shall be adjudicated in the same manner as differences between individuals are adjudicated—namely, by arbitration, by the arbitrament of courts in accordance with recognized principles of law, rather than by war. Are we right?" . . .

"Our skeptical friends know we are right—enlightened public opinion admits it—the cause of humanity is outraged by another view. The goal of good government, after all, is the welfare and prosperity of the people, and it is because we know that peace surely promotes, and war surely destroys, that which statesmanship is supposed to strive for, the friends of international arbitration, it seems to me, are furthering the very objects of efficient statecraft."

The thing which Abraham Lincoln held up as the ideal of statesmanship was striving to "achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Mr. Bartholdt has done more during the past year toward the accomplishment of this than any other man in the United States, both by creating public sentiment and by causing nations to take a forward step in the path that leads to Peace.

Mr. Bartholdt has been equal to initiating this movement in its practical form as a part of American, of world, politics. Will he be able to lead the Peace Forces to final triumph by actual execution of the plan proposed by the Resolution of St. Louis, so as to bring all nations into one political body, with many members fitly joined together? Time alone can answer the question.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Baron D'Estournelles de Constant*

BY HAYNE DAVIS

[Benjamin D'Estournelles de Constant is the leading authority in the world on arbitration. He was a member of the First Hague Conference, and is now one of the French Members of the Hague Court. He is organizing the representative men of every nation into an International Federation, whose motto is, "My Country's Good Thru the Peace of the World," "*Pro Patria per orbis Concordiam.*" The Arbitration Group in the French Parliament, organized by him, has enabled France to conclude many treaties of arbitration, thru the exchange of visits by delegations from the French and various other European parliaments. Baron D'Estournelles has invited a delegation of one hundred from the United States Congress to visit Paris and make a tour of France as guests of his group. We have not heard of their either accepting or returning this courtesy.—EDITOR.]

AFTER the Interparliamentary Union, at its thirteenth session, had accepted the principle of the American proposals made at Brussels, namely (1st) an International Congress or Council to convene periodically for discussion of such international questions as current events make paramount, and (2d) jurisdiction for The Hague Court over questions included in treaties of arbitration, I felt constrained to see Baron d'Estournelles, the great international Senator of France, who has been preparing Europe for the acceptance of those ideas. He had been prevented from attending this memorable session of the Union, which took place in the same city in which the council of war that resulted in the overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo was held only ninety years ago.

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BARON D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT,
French Member of Commission on International Congress. Member
of Hague Court.

I left Brussels on the 13th day of September, the anniversary of the passage of the "Resolution of St. Louis" by the Interparliamentary Union, which called for the second Hague Conference, to consider, among other things, the advisability of establishing an International Congress to convene periodically. Upon my arrival at La Flèche, the railroad station half an hour from Baron d'Estournelles' home at Creans, I was surprised to find that the district represented by the International Senator of France is intimately associated with the International King of France in Shakespeare's time, the King who created modern France, and who conceived and elaborated all the details of a world wide political organism which the twentieth century is to form and then perfect.

Here, in the center of the main square of the city, is a statue of Henry the Great. One block away is a fine building, now used as a school for sons of army officers, but originally built by Henry, and part of it being the home in which his mother lived.

On the way to the Château of Clermont-Creans—D'Estournelles' country home—we passed a place that once belonged to the Duke of Sully, the Prime Minister of Henry the Great, and the only member of his cabinet to whom he dared disclose all parts of this grand design.

For some time Baron d'Estournelles had been putting forward the idea of a Union of Europe, somewhat vaguely, and had been taking practical steps

along definite lines for drawing France and particular nations closer together, with the result that there are now several general arbitration treaties between France and other European nations, and that an opposition to his Internationalism began to make itself heard. This was while he was a member of the lower House of the French Parliament. The seat for his district in the Senate becoming vacant, he made a campaign for it last year on the issue of sound internationalism and narrow nationalism, and was elevated from the House of Deputies to the Senate of France by the people of this district, because he has had the wisdom and the courage to take an advanced stand in the direction of realizing the grand design of France's greatest king. A century ago France and the United States, born of the same movement of ideas, co-operated together for establishing political liberty for individuals, in North America, in South America, and then France became the St. Paul of this new dispensation in government, preaching and practicing its principles in the very precincts of the proudest monarchies. Having maintained herself against the conspiracy of all Europe to stamp out these principles by force of arms, France was now honoring and strengthening the man who is to take a leading part in the realization of political liberty for nations, by executing the grand design of her greatest king. The essential idea of this grand design had just been made a part of practical world politics by members of the United

States Congress and of eighteen other national parliaments. And on the very scene where Henry the Great and Sully the faithful worked out all its details a century ago, I found this great International Senator of France forging the tools for its actual execution. His workshop is full of historic interest.

In the front yard, and only a few feet away from the château, I found an ancient fort in a perfect state of preservation, and separated from the road by the moat, in which the water from the Loire is still seen. It was here that the desperate, prolonged and victorious stand against the English was made, which saved France from English dominion and England from the almost inconceivable difficulties involved in trying to govern France from beyond her own borders.

On the other side of the château, and only about fifty or one hundred steps from it, runs the Loire, which divides Northern from Southern France, and has been the scene of many events full of deep, of romantic interest.

This retreat on the Loire gives Baron d'Estournelles a refuge from the political turmoil of Paris and also access to sources of wisdom and strength for fulfilling his part in the world's political work.

He admitted me into his sanctuary, and showed me the weapons he has been forging and laying aside for use at the proper moment—all weapons of the mind, clearly discerned political and economic



BETWEEN THE CHATEAU OF CLEREMONT AND THE
LOIRE.

Miss Jones. Baron D'Estournelles. Arnand.
Marguerite. Mademoiselle. Madame.

truths, ready for placing in the hands of an organized army of fine intellects, when the moment for action comes.

Henry the Great proposed to execute the Grand Design by "Force of Arms." Baron d'Estournelles proposes to rely on the force of principles, faithfully presented to the people of his age and country. And he is planning and organizing his army—the Arbitration Group, the Committee of International Conciliation, composed of the representative men in every walk of life in every nation, the International Review, etc.

The night before I left the chateau at Clermont-Creans I asked Baron d'Estournelles the following questions, and have his permission to publish his replies, which were given over his signature:

Question. Is it desirable, in the interest of justice and of peace founded on justice, that a body of men be continually studying questions of common concern to all nations, and that they be freed from all other business cares?

Answer. Yes, greatly desirable, and more and more urgent.

Question. How often should they assemble together to discuss and agree upon improvements that are ready for realization in the body of international law and in the method of its administration?

Answer. This is a detail.

Question. Should they assemble at one place always, or would it be better that they meet in the various capitals of the world in succession?

Answer. In various capitals; that would be the best way to advertise and acclimatize the institution.

Question. If their resolutions are limited to declarations of general principles for the conduct of international intercourse, would it not be desirable to have them acknowledged as binding rules of the law of nations, unless they

are vetoed by some nation affected, thus putting national inertia on the side of international progress?

Answer. Certainly, if possible.

Question. Is there any better way of selecting such a body of men than for each nation to select its own members in the way it may choose, and to pay them for their services?

Answer. Yes, each nation ought to choose her way of selecting them.

Question. How many members would you consider desirable from each nation?

Answer. This is a detail.

Question. Would it be well to create such a council as soon as nations doing one-half of the world's international trade agree to appoint and pay representatives in it?

Answer. This may be a good idea. Never wait too long for the others when you want to start a new idea.

Question. Will France join the United States in such a Council, regardless of what other nations may do in regard to the same?

Answer. I wish they would follow, and I would certainly advise it. I suppose all foreign countries, and especially France, would be rather embarrassed to refuse if the United States proposed to appoint such an International Council. This council, of course, being for study and not for execution. In any case, the United States Government would have, once more, all the moral benefit of such an initiative, and possibly public opinion would press upon the other governments and oblige them to follow. I would certainly advise the French Government that way.

Estournelles de Constant

He says Roosevelt is afraid of nothing on account of its magnitude and shrinks from nothing on account of its difficulties; and that such an Executive is needed for the initiation and effectual performance of this necessary work in world politics.

He thinks the German Emperor is another man worthy of carrying this idea into actual effect. This is the political work that belongs to the most daring Executive of our day. The Czar has the honor of having taken the initiative for creating The Hague Court. Roosevelt started its wheels going and called the second Hague Conference. Japan is covered with glory, France and England have centuries of achievement which History will weary herself telling about. The new German Empire has but just come on the scene, and one great act of the world's political drama is yet to be played in the organizing of all the nations into one body on a proper basis. Napoleon wanted to do this, but could not do it one hundred years ago. The German Emperor could do it now, but not by force, and Roosevelt could do it. The world will watch them as this movement passes from judges and lawmakers to the executives of the world.

With such men as D'Estournelles in French, Ap-ponyi in Hungarian, LaFontaine in Belgian, Stanhope and Cremer in English, Horst and Lund in the Norwegian, Beckman in the Swedish Parliaments, and others of the same character in every national Parliament, waiting anxiously for some Executive to declare for this plan, in order to begin a war, with him as leader, on its behalf ; with a Russian National Parliament in process of formation, and a Chinese commission in Europe and America studying ways and means of adapting European and American con-

stitutional government and Western organizations to Chinese needs; with all the world in a disturbed formative state of mind, this seems the psychological moment for some Executive to declare for a plan, which when fully executed will do away with the European menace to Asia and the Yellow Peril to Europe.

The Baron is a small man, probably not more than 5 feet 5 inches in height, but you do not think of size when talking with him, but of high aspirations, of world-wide interests, of profound and practical ways of advancing toward their realization. With him, as with all wise men, you cannot escape from facing the practical way of attaining anything which you hold up as an ideal. His life is a remarkable instance of seeing a great light and persistently pursuing the road that leads to it.

Standing on the summit of aspiration for all men's good, he saw what must be done, and instead of remaining in the clouds of contemplation he came down into the midst of men, faithfully to fashion a structure "according to the pattern shown to him on the Mount."

It was when he was Ambassador of France at London, the seething center of the world's political conflicts, that he saw the necessity of substituting law for war, before permanent prosperity could take the place of periodical devastation. He renounced the brilliant diplomatic possibilities opening before him, made his way into the French Parliament, and

began the ascent to a place of power at Paris, in order that he might become the maker of his nation's laws and policies, instead of the executor of laws and policies made by others.

His home is itself a miniature of what he hopes to see accomplished on a world-wide scale. Accord, concord, co-operation between all nations, and particularly between the great nations, is foreshadowed at Clermont-Creans. His secretary is Miss Jones, of England. His two-year old and therefore best beloved child is in the care of a German lady. Clearly there is no bitterness at Clermont-Creans toward either the ancient or the modern enemy of France. He looks to America for the solution of life's problems. It is quite natural, therefore, that the mistress of Clermont-Creans (Madame d'Estournelles) should be an American.

While I was there a communication came from the great French Socialist, Jean Jaures, who can carry a French Assembly as Mirabeau used to do. In it he suggested this idea of America's taking the lead in a world-wide effectual plan for substituting law in the place of war. This was not accidental or trivial. It proves that the same spirit which sent these American Congressmen to Brussels to make this proposition is working in France, everywhere, to ensure its acceptance. A Revolution or an Evolution is preparing to sweep the whole world in its grand movement.

There is bound to arise an International Congress

whose jurisdiction extends to the furthest limits of human intercourse—the outward symbol and effectual arm of a political body, composed of all nations, perfectly preserved as individuals, but fitly joined together as members of one world-wide organism.

This is what the International Senator of France is preparing the way for. It is this light to which he is looking, thru the gloom which still hangs over beautiful France, after so many centuries of striving to realize the highest idea in all things. Thru world-wide political organization in the right form France and all nations will enter upon the era of individual security and world-wide peace and plenty. Baron d'Estournelles will be rightly recorded as one of the great factors in the realization of this great work.



CHAPTER XXIX.

The Honorable Philip Stanhope

(Lord Weardale.)

WHO is Philip Stanhope? He is a man who is continually using his head as a battering ram to break down skeptical and reactionary thought, and who at times can jump in front of a political party that is running away with a nation. Consequently he is himself a little disfigured now and then, but he is still in the ring, ready for the next opportunity to render a similar service to mankind in general and to his own country in particular.

His first appearance in the British House of Commons was in 1886, as a supporter of Mr. Gladstone, with whom he was intimately associated. When the Jameson raid occurred, it was Mr. Stanhope who introduced the resolution in the House of Commons which brought Cecil Rhodes and Mr. Chamberlain before its bar to give an explanation of their relations prior to that raid. And when war broke out in South Africa, and Parliament was summoned to vote supplies, Mr. Stanhope introduced the resolution censuring the Chamberlain policy. The war party was running away with the country and consequently Mr. Stanhope found, after

the next election, that his constituency at Burnley was no longer in need of his services, or, at least, that the constituency had reached this conclusion.

But the country was clothed and in its right mind again in 1904, and Mr. Stanhope was sent back to the House, this time for the Market Harbor Division, and he can be counted on to throw himself in the lead of all really forward movements, and against all backward or downward tendencies, regardless of the names they give themselves, or of the parties who become their sponsors. Such a man was bound to have a place in the movement for arbitration as a substitute for war. And it is not a surprise therefore to find that he was one of that handful of brave Englishmen who appeared at Paris in 1889, along with the indomitable William Randal Cremer, and assisted at the birth of the Interparliamentary Union, of which Mr. Cremer was the father and Mr. Passy the mother. Mr. Stanhope is one of the few men who have been present at every subsequent meeting of this unofficial World's Parliament. He has acted on its Executive Council ever since its organization, having been during this whole time president of the British group of its membership, which now numbers several hundred.

In 1889, men who dared to advocate general treaties of arbitration were ridiculed in private and patronized in public, by men wise in their own conceit, and in the so-called ways of the world. But

time changes many things when brave men dare to propose forward movements, and today this Interparliamentary Union is recognized as the greatest single factor in swinging the world into an orbit of law and order.

When this Union assembled at St. Louis for its twelfth session, Mr. Stanhope was one of the subcommittee of three which drew up the resolutions. It was my privilege to hand to him and Senator Houzeau de LeHaie, of Belgium, and Hon. T. E. Burton, of Ohio, the now famous "Resolution of St. Louis," as proposed by Hon. Richard Bartholdt.

Thru some error, the resolution, as proposed in the full session of the Executive Council, was improperly worded. During its translation into French I discovered the error. Mr. Bartholdt redrafted it in his own hand and gave it to me for typewriting. It was then submitted to this subcommittee. I had never met Mr. Stanhope till then, and I recall now that he altered the form of that resolution. It was drawn in American style to start with—*i. e.*, "Whereas, etc., therefore, be it resolved, so and so." At the moment I did not regard the alteration as amounting to much. But familiarity with it since has shown me that Mr. Stanhope's modification left all the force in it and took out a little something which presupposed an opposition.

It did for the resolution what some one might do for Roosevelt, by fixing him so that he would



LORD WEARDALE,
(Sir Philip Stanhope)
President of the British Group of the Interparliamentary Union.

create no opposition which does not already exist, by his determination to go ahead at whatever cost.

When the thirteenth session of the Union had heard Mr. Bartholdt's argument for the formulation of a plan for an International Parliament to convene periodically, and had decided to refer the plan to a commission of seven eminent men, Mr. Stanhope was made chairman of the commission. Considering the importance of the proposition, the power of the Interparliamentary Union, the speed with which all wheels are now turning, it is not oversanguine to prophesy that before many years students of history will be hunting up data about the men who proposed the plan on which the World's Parliament was constituted.

Tho Mr. Stanhope has been identified with the advanced wing of the English Liberal party, and is a close friend of Mr. Cremer, one of the labor union members, and is always on the forward move, yet he is in an atmosphere where any forward move creates a breeze, because the wind does not blow in that direction. And he will prove to be one of the most conservative of the seven men on this great commission.

Mr. Stanhope, Count Apponyi and Baron d'Estournelles are the sons of noblemen who prove themselves noble by "the might they show among the people," after good old Hebrew Royal habits. Mr. Stanhope's family has known about itself for a long time, and is now the possessor of three Earl-

doms—Chesterfield, Stanhope and Harrington—all descended from Sir Michael Stanhope, brother-in-law of the Protector Somerset by whom Somerset House was built. One of his descendants, James, the first Earl Stanhope, became Prime Minister in 1719. Charles, the third Earl Stanhope, was an eminent scientist, and an ardent sympathizer with the American and French Revolutionists. He was a warm friend of Benjamin Franklin, and was associated with Robert Fulton in the construction of the first steamboat. This Charles Stanhope married a daughter of the great Lord Chatham, and was brother-in-law to the younger Pitt.

Mr. Stanhope's father, the Earl of Stanhope, a well known historian, was the biographer of Pitt.

Consequently Mr. Stanhope has two forces at work in himself as well as around him. One demanding and commanding "Forward!" The other whispering "Let well enough alone." One tempts him to enjoy in comfort and with the praise of men his own spacious halls and the high ceilings of his lordly kinsmen and acquaintances. The other sends him out among the people to plead the cause of right, and to endure the censure which every brave and honest spirit encounters in the struggle to persuade, or to compel, men to abandon unjust advantages and to make provision for equal and exact justice.

Mr. Stanhope's character must be inferred from the part he has decided to play. But one thing must

not be forgotten: He is always merry, and it must be a very dark day, a very prolonged dark set of days, in which he finds no laughing time. This habit of taking even serious things with a happy heart was illustrated during the Interparliamentary tour of America last year. While traveling thru Nebraska I had a long interview with Mr. Stanhope, in which he gave out some very profound reflections on the outcome of the action taken by the Union in calling for a second Hague Conference. Among other things he said that every member of the Interparliamentary Union was a member of a National Parliament, elected by the people. "In consequence every member of the Union is a representative of the idea that when laws are being enacted all the people who are to be affected by them are entitled to a voice in the body enacting them. And as members of National Parliaments they are continually called upon to make decisions, in matters which concern the people of other nations as well as their own, without any consultation even with people of the other nations. This is contrary to the political principle of which every representative in Parliament is an exponent, and results in war among nations. This has created the Interparliamentary Union, as a means by which men, dissatisfied with this situation, can consult together with a view to changing it. And every member of this Union must advocate creating an International Parliament, or must renounce the principle

on which the Interparliamentary Union, and on which his own nation, is founded." Then he commented on the fact that in the United States all nations are represented. "Here," he said, "each member of our party finds his own countrymen, and our party contains members of almost every European Parliament. Still we all feel at home on American soil and among American people."

At this moment we arrived at Omaha, Neb., and while there some one got a copy of the *Omaha Bee*. A great peal of laughter went up when it was discovered that this paper was amusing its readers that Sunday with "How John Bull Runs an Election." Ignorant that Philip Stanhope was to pass that way, or that he was in America at all, this wide awake *Bee* was telling about his recent election to Parliament, and saying, among other things, that he had no political ideas worth speaking of, but managed to satisfy his constituency by coming down from London and driving his four white horses around every sharp corner, at a break-neck speed, highly delighted himself and to the great exhilaration of the country round about. No one laughed more heartily than Mr. Stanhope, and he keeps that *Bee* preserved as a souvenir, in testimony that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country."

His character, the connection of events, the pressing needs of mankind have placed him at the head of a commission appointed by a body composed of

over 2,500 national lawmakers, to pass upon a practical plan for establishing justice among nations and for doing away, in due time, with the vast and oppressive military and naval burdens which weigh upon the world.

He can be counted on to advocate the plan in its perfection and for taking the earliest and longest steps in that direction which are possible. Perhaps no European realizes, however, the mighty power in America waiting to rush to the support of those who will propose to go the full length of demanding a true Parliament in modern and effective form. And yet, standing on the spot where the three men resolved to free Switzerland, Houzeau de LeHaie and Frederic Passy recently declared that a similar oath, taken by a few men, would soon create the World's Congress and bring the War Era to an end.



CHAPTER XXX.

Henri La Fontaine

HENRI LA FONTAINE maintains the same mental attitude to a king as to a working-man. He is, therefore, a very valuable man to Europe, to America also. He does not respect persons, but ideas. He always demands and can always give a reason for any position assumed. He walks freely about among men and institutions, looks into whatever any man can suggest, forms his opinion, expresses it, sticks to it, thru thick and thin, and while other men are coming on to that mental attitude, he himself has gone up higher. Always going forward, always going up, always bold and outspoken, incessantly, vigorously, effectively working, and for the welfare of others.

He never staggers at any proposition, however immense, nor shuns any duty however difficult, or however small. From the Belgian Senate he goes over to the model House of Documentation, his ten-year-old and best beloved work. There he is demonstrating, at an almost inconceivable cost of energy, how track can be kept of everything that is now said in writing anywhere in the world, or that ever has been recorded and the record pre-

served. His aim is to turn this institution into a World's Office of Documentation, which will supply to any one on demand the title, place and date of publication, and present location of everything that is in print. And, to as great a degree as possible, have all these things in this same office. Subcenters in America, North and South, in Africa, in Europe at various places, and in Asia are contemplated, being miniature reflections of the parent office.

In the prosecution of this work he has made use of a system invented by Mr. Melvil Dewey, librarian of the Albany State Library, which he says furnishes the solution for the library and documentation problem.

His miniature "World's Office of Documentation," at Brussels, occupies very imposing quarters. And the book which gives a classified account of its contents has 2,300 pages and an index of 40,000 headings. This was prepared by La Fontaine, and his friend, Mr. Paul Otlet, who has been his co-worker in this great enterprise. And it represents ten years of devoted and incessant labor.

From the World's Office of Documentation he will go to the University Extension, or to the popular University, or the Working Men's Section of Art and Literature, either for ordinary executive work or to give a lecture on music, with productions by the great masters given in illustration, or on his trip to America, or to France, or on what



SENATOR HENRI LA FONTAINE,
Belgian Member of Commission on International Congress.

he has learned from books, poetry, literature, anything men want to hear about *that is good*. He tells me that his lectures on music to the masses of the people are a great delight. Illustrated by rendition of pieces from the works of the men discussed, he finds the people more appreciative and better able to comprehend than the so-called better classes, who too often have simply had all their genuine interests washed out, without any better thing supplied; not that he undervalues polish which appears on the exterior, and which is very good indeed, when it is on substance of the right kind within.

Then he is secretary since 1878 of a Technical School for Young Women, founded in 1865, and to which a new department was added in 1888. The two have been taken as models in the establishment of hundreds of similar schools in Belgium and in other countries.

He took part, in 1894, in the founding of a new University and School of High Studies, and was chosen by his colleagues for the chair of International Law, which he has occupied since then.

His first appearance in the Belgian Parliament was in 1895, when he was elected to the Senate as a Social Democrat. And with the exception of one intermission, of two years, he has been a member of that High Assembly ever since. In the same year, Mr. Jules Bara and Mr. Edmond Picard were elected Senators. Mr. Bara is the eminent lawyer

in whose office La Fontaine finished his studies by some practical experience, a thing required by the law of Belgium.

For two years he was secretary to Mr. Picard, who is one of the most eminent men of Belgium. His advance to a seat in the Senate as a Socialist was along this line. He first wrote a work, now much used in Belgium, on "The Rights and Duties of Contractors on Public Works." Then in 1888 he collaborated with Mr. Xavier Olin, former Minister of Railways, in preparing a work on counterfeiting.

When appointed by the Belgium Bar to make a report on a Bar association and on women as members of the Bar, he took very advanced positions, and subsequently he caused a movement to be inaugurated by the Bar for needed changes in the laws of the profession.

In 1889 he became secretary to the Society of Social and Political Studies, and assisted Mr. August Couvreur, former Vice President of the House of Representatives, in bringing forward for discussion some important social and economic questions, and by some remarkable debates prepared the way for the revision of the Belgian Electoral Law in 1893.

It was during this time that he became an advocate of the principles of Social Democracy, and in 1891 he presided at the first Conference of Students and Ancient Students, adherents to Socialism. In 1893 he became one of the founders of a Democratic

paper—*La Justice*—which up to 1895 advocated very vigorously the ideas of Social Democracy. Most of the collaborators have become representatives of Social Democracy in Belgium.

In the Senate he has been very active, particularly on economic and international questions, and has published a mass of articles in *La Justice*, *Le Peuple* and elsewhere, all pleading for forward movement. A double brochure on Collectivism, a lecture given before the School of High Social Studies at Paris on "Socialism and Solidarity," extracts and a résumé of the celebrated "Collectiviste Hertzka, Freiland," are only a few of the publications which have been streaming from his pen like the water from the mountains. The moment he gets anything he wants to give it to others, and no amount of trouble seems to stop him till he has given it to all who will receive it.

Among the many lectures given by him on international questions it is necessary to mention one at Paris in December, 1902, on "The International Budget," and one at St. Louis, September 22, 1904, before the Congress of Arts and Sciences, on "The Present and Future of International Law."

He has published the following works on Peace and Arbitration:

1894.—"Code of International Arbitration."

1902.—"Pasicrisie Internationale. Histoire documentaire des Arbitrages Internationaux." A very

large work of 700 pages. He is now at work bringing this down to 1905.

1902.—“Chronological History of Arbitration Since 1794 Down to 1900.”

1904.—“Bibliography of Peace and Arbitration.” Only the first volume has appeared, and it contains 2,222 classified titles.

Meanwhile he has been advancing to the head of the Belgian Bar and making himself a power to be reckoned with in the Belgian Senate, and also in all the International Congresses on Arbitration and Peace. He has been a delegate to every one of these since 1889, except those held at London, Glasgow and Chicago. He organized the one held at Antwerp, and prepared the report of its proceedings. In these international congresses he has advocated their organization in such form as to make the discussions fruitful. He participated in founding the permanent Bureau of Peace at Berne. Placed on the legislative committee, he became one of the most active members, and was one of the reporters of this committee at Berne, Budapesth, Rouen, Antwerp. The Code of Arbitration adopted at the Antwerp Conference was his individual production.

When Mr. Hodgson Pratt came to Belgium to organize a Branch of the International Federation of Peace and Arbitration, La Fontaine enabled the thing to be done, and became secretary of the Belgian branch. Its presidents have been, in succession, Mr. Emile Levilye, the celebrated econ-

omist; the eminent Mr. August Couvreur alluded to above, and Mr. Houzeau de LeHaie, a distinguished member of the Belgian Senate, and of the Interparliamentary Union. He was one of the special committee of the Peace Bureau which prepared, in 1895, a plan for a Permanent Court of Arbitration, on which The Hague Court was afterward founded.

As soon as La Fontaine took his seat in the Belgian Senate he became entitled to a seat in the conferences of the Interparliamentary Union, and he has never been absent from one of its sessions since he had a right to attend. Indeed, even before his election to the Senate, he had been sent to the sessions as a reporter for leading newspapers. All these things seem more than the work of one man, but in addition, La Fontaine finds time to run away from all these works of the more or less discordant world, and to strike the strings by which music is drawn from the universal mind and made audible to human understanding. He was one of the most active men in getting the Wagnerian movement started, at a time when the promoters were ridiculed and even abused in Belgium. He was among the first auditors of the "Nibelungen" at Baireuth, in 1876. He made at that time a metric translation of this work. His translation of the first act of the "Walkyrie" was published in 1889, and his manuscript is now in the hands of very well known publishers, ready for publication as soon

as the copyright expires. I am told it is a great improvement on that now in vogue.

And, besides all this, he runs away frequently and scales the heights of the Alps, loving their loftiness and the wide world, as seen from so great an elevation. But he no sooner reaches their heights than he feels for other Alpine climbers, and then endeavors to touch with the inspiration received on their summits the people who have remained in the valleys below.

So we have "Au Hoernli," "Autour du Tiltis," "De Suse à Liverogne," "Un Ouragan au Mont Rose," "Du Brouillard," "Rhin et Rhone." Also two studies upon a project for a Bibliography of Alpine Climbers, which was adopted by the International Congress of Alpine Clubs at Paris, in 1900. He has long been interested in America, and last year attended the session of the Interparliamentary Union at St. Louis. His eyes, ears, mind and heart were open to many things, and as soon as he landed on European soil he began to spread abroad his impressions, in the papers, periodicals, and in innumerable lectures. Among which may be mentioned, particularly, one on "American Women," and another on "American Libraries." In both these and in all the others he testified to great faith in and love for his brethren across the sea.

Such is the man who must now take a place among the seven, specially chosen by the Interpar-

liamentary Union to pass upon the plan for an International Parliament, and a model Treaty of Arbitration, for La Fontaine has been asked to sit on both commissions.

When Mr. Bartholdt laid on the table at Brussels, before the assembled members of the Interparliamentary Union, a proposed International Parliament, the effect on various men was very different. Some smiled a knowing smile. Some a sickly one. They shrank from the necessity of saying at home they had seriously considered the idea. Some said, Why, this is revolution. La Fontaine simply looked it over, from top to bottom, and then said: "This is a remarkable document. It does not contain a single point to which any nation can reasonably object; and, with a few additions, it is the thing most needed for solving the most pressing political problem of the world. It contains provisions which remove all question as to its practicability for immediate acceptance; for instance, that any nation, upon becoming dissatisfied, may withdraw upon giving reasonable notice of desire to do so.

"The most remarkable provisions, however, are the foundation stones on which it is proposed to construct this Congress:

"a. A guarantee by all nations represented in it that they will hereafter respect the territory and the autonomy of the others, and

"b. That trade between each of the nations repre-

sented in it and all other nations shall be on the same or at least on reciprocal terms.

"Or, in other words, 'home rule' and 'the open door' for all, and, in addition, a voice for each nation in making the rules under which international commerce is to be conducted, proportionate to its interest in this commerce, instead of proportionate to its military and naval strength, as is now the case.

"Giving the force of law to the resolutions, unless vetoed by one or more nations, puts national inertia on the side of international progress, and at the same time provides a safety valve thru which violent national feeling can discharge itself without doing serious damage. In this way an effectual barrier will be erected against going too fast for the active sentiment of the times, and suitable provision made to prevent going too slow from mere inertia.

"Mr. Bartholdt has earned the gratitude of the people of all nations for making this plan a part of practical politics. Its introduction will give new life to our Interparliamentary Union, which now contains over 2,500 members of National Parliaments—a force not to be ignored in the political world. It will rally behind this body the workingmen and the workingmen's organizations in all nations, a force which cannot be resisted when properly guided, as it certainly will be under this plan of campaign.

"On the whole, I would say that the introduction

of this resolution into our Union is an event of no small moment in history."

Space forbids further development of Mr. La Fontaine's comments on the plan for a Permanent World's Parliament. The fact that he formulated and was ready to publish these decided views almost before other men had recovered from their astonishment, indicates what may be expected of him when the Commission meets, and when the report of the Commission puts this plan up to the governments themselves with the power of the Interparliamentary Union behind it.

The idea has found advocates in Europe whose voices are strong, and who have had the power to make their ideas prevail. With Russia and China constructing National Parliaments, and with this Commission at work on such a plan for an International Parliament, what may we not expect at an early day? Will Roosevelt pass from the Presidency into the International Parliament as one of the first representatives from the United States in the Parliament of Nations? Why not?

CHAPTER XXXI.

Count Albert Apponyi

COUNT APPONYI is one of those dangerous men who desire to keep out of politics, who love the shady walks of their ancestral estates, and who can be called forth only when some blow is to be struck for principles which must not be allowed to perish. Such men are dangerous indeed to established wrongs, for they enter the field without fear and without favor, resolved to do the necessary thing to set things right and then retire to the contemplation of the things they love. But the imperative need of the world gives them no respite. Washington very often expressed this wish for retirement. So have most of the great men without whom the world could not make its necessary progress. Even from their retreats they send out ideas with which the active politicians must wrestle, and when conditions call them to the field of action they sweep down the barriers which seemed to others irresistible.

The home of Count Apponyi is full of peculiar temptation to such a man as he. The castle was built in the Middle Ages, and has long been an inheritance in his family. In his grandfather's time

(shortly after the construction of our National Government) it was reconstructed as it stands today. It is built on all four sides of an open court, which is about 100 feet square; all the rooms open outside, and around the inside wall is a hallway, filled with pictures, signifying something either in the life of the former occupants, his ancestors, or illustrating that part of history in which they took an interest.

I was particularly impressed by two engravings hanging side by side—the Declaration of Independence being signed at Philadelphia and the Holy Alliance being formed at Vienna. The former brought into the practical politics of the nations those principles which can remedy the wrongs of the past. The latter was a desperate and ostensibly a holy effort of the rulers of a century ago to fix forever on humanity the errors of established institutions. Looking at the representation of these two scenes, Count Apponyi called my attention to the cynical aspect of the diplomats composing the Congress of Vienna in comparison with the grand appearance of the men who resolved at Philadelphia to right the wrongs of which they were conscious, and who jeopardized all they treasured rather than shrink from the performance of this noble task.

Coming from a long line of these hereditary rulers, all Count Apponyi's heart is given to the principles for which America stands.

It is in the contemplation of these principles that he is inspired to abandon his retirement and to fight

against every condition which does not accommodate itself to them.

In addition to his own noble ancestry he has married a daughter of the proud Mensdorf family, of Austria, Countess Clothilde Mensdorf. When he married her he told her that his political career was over, and that they would only have to enjoy the beauties of the world from his father's estate. Conditions in Hungary have become such that he has never been so overwhelmed in politics as since his marriage. He told me laughingly that, under the circumstances, Countess Apponyi could almost demand a divorce on the ground of marriage under false pretense. This is one of the happiest families imaginable. One of Countess Apponyi's brothers stands next to the Emperor-King, and another is now Austro-Hungarian Ambassador to Great Britain. Nevertheless, Countess Apponyi understands, approves and assists her husband in his political struggle, because she sees he is right on principle, and despite the fact that it arrays the entire Austrian court against him.

Count Albert Apponyi is a liberated man. He is free from many things which hold other men in bondage. For instance, he is free from reserve. He dares to open the doors of his mind and heart so that whoever will may enter and see what is going on within. Not that there are no sacred places within; but he does not make secrets of his sacred sentiments. Every really great man has this

quality. Indeed, it is only by the revelation of high ideas and noble feelings that men become real factors in the lives of others. Who ever became an inspiration to others by burying his vitalest feelings in the tomb of personal and private considerations? The man who opens his doors and comes abroad with the best that he has within is the man who is worthy of a place and power in human affairs. And when men arrive at a certain height of excellence they are forced to do this. And if we stop to think we will realize that the great writers whom we never saw, but who dared to trust the whole world with their sacredest sentiments, have done more to stir within us really higher aspirations than the people whose hands we touch.

They look into our face and fear that we will not understand; so they bury the best thing within them far out of sight. But men always honor an honest draft made on their capacity to respond to a noble sentiment. It is this which gives poets a clientele and all true men a following, whatever be their aim.

Count Apponyi is such a man. He is always at ease and puts others at ease. He lives in the present moment, thinks, feels, speaks, simply sincerely; trusts himself and those around him. So constituted, he has a correlated quality—Hospitality to the thoughts of others. In the play of real life there is always this give and take. Whoever is giving is also ready to receive.



COUNT ALBERT APPONYI,
President of Hungarian group, Interparliamentary Union. Member
of Hague Court.

As his doors are open for others to enter and see his secret and sacred places, so they are open for him to come out. And he rushes out to meet new and noble ideas, instead of being driven out of his own backdoor by their force, before conceding the truth that is in them.

A man having these qualities is on the way to high places, and in Count Apponyi's case they have put him in the Hungarian Parliament, kept him there for over a quarter of a century, and made him one of the leaders in Hungary's political affairs when they have come to a climax, after centuries of vicissitudes.

It happened this way. About thirty years ago a deputation from a distant part of Hungary came to him and said, "The ideas which you have expressed appeal to us, and we want you to represent us in Parliament." By inheritance he is entitled to a seat in the Hungarian House of Lords. He came down from his hereditary seat, became a candidate before the people, among whom he feels always at home, and then ascended again into Parliament by election of his cotemporaries. And ever since then he has been an advocate of laws which are calculated to benefit the masses of the people. This has resulted in his being opposed to the party in power, which was more on the side of the privileged classes, of which the nobility in Hungary is still a powerful exponent. Tho Count Apponyi is a member of this class, his thought is for the people.

He is a real nobleman in this, that his sympathies include all the people and his work is to promote their real welfare.

His being in the opposition has deprived the people of his constituency of many, more or less valuable, gifts that are continually being distributed by the Government; not only in the form of patronage, but of various conveniences, which improve the conditions of life.

A few years ago the decree was entered in the councils of the Government party that Apponyi must be beaten. A campaign was begun against him, a large sum of money was prepared and was spent in an effort to unseat him, by fair or foul means. He went down among the people, who had re-elected him for twenty-five years, and said, in substance: "You have suffered many inconveniences, you have been patient and hopeful during a quarter of a century, in standing for true and noble ideas, which in the end must triumph, if their representatives remain faithful. During all this time that I have gone in and out among you I have been conscious that I was better for my relation to you and you were better for your relation to me, and both of us better for our advocacy of true ideas. In no respect are we worse for our having worked together. We will continue on this line, and will not barter, for a trifle, the priceless political treasures for which our nation has made so many sac-

rifices, and we ourselves have labored long and faithfully."

He spent no money to keep his seat, but when the next Parliament opened he was in his customary place and stronger than ever.

He is free to a remarkable degree from fear of evil, from belief in its power to prevail; and it is faith in good and in the power of principle to prevail in all emergencies which thus liberates him.

Soon after his return to Parliament, despite the desperate effort to defeat him, a more trying situation arose, in which the whole nation became involved. And it was well for Hungary that the people of his district had been faithful in "the few things," for such men as he were needed in the hour of danger which came without warning.

The Government party called on the Parliament to supply annually 22,000 more recruits for the army, together with an appropriation to meet the necessary expenses. This meant over 60,000 more Hungarians to be kept under arms in time of peace, as each man serves three years in the army. And Hungary already has soldiers in time of peace to the number of several hundred thousand.

Nevertheless there is no real Hungarian army, and for these reasons: Several centuries ago, when the Crown was not hereditary in Hungary, but was worn by a person elected for life by the Hungarian nation, the man was elected King of Hungary who was at that time ruler of Austria, not called Em-

peror, but Arch Duke, for Austria was then only a small part of what is now called by that name. The idea in doing this was to gain for Hungary the power of this man and his family for protecting Hungary against foreign foes. As the Turks had just vanquished the Hungarian army and the King had expired on the field of battle, and Ferdinand of Austria was brother of the Roman Emperor, this seemed a sensible thing to do.

The condition attached to this election was that the independence and constitution of Hungary should be preserved unimpaired.

Today, after several eventful centuries, Hungary finds the flags of the Hapsburghs, not the flags of Hungary, flying over her regiments, the commands are given in the language of Austria, not in the language of Hungary, and in some cases Austrian officers are actually in command of Hungarian regiments, tho this has long been an admitted violation of Hungarian law.

When the call for more soldiers was made, the party to which Count Apponyi belongs replied that it would not be granted unless Hungary's right was admitted to have Hungarian emblems and the Hungarian language used in the Hungarian regiments. Considerable confusion and even violence occurred in the Parliament, and then an election took place. The Government party was overwhelmingly defeated, and Count Apponyi and his associates came back into Parliament with an endorsement from the peo-

ple which made them feel that it was impossible to abandon the claim for present recognition of Hungary's right to her own emblems and language in her regiments of the army. This may not seem on the surface to be a very important matter, but there are very deep things under it, as can be gathered from the subsequent course of events. The King absolutely refused to name one of the coalition as Prime Minister, unless he would bind himself to leave this army plank out of the program. Not one of them could be induced to do this, so the King named another man as Prime Minister, who is opposed to this army plan.

Then he notified the Parliament to adjourn, resolved to run the Government contrary to the wishes of the people, expressed at the last election. Without a dissenting voice the Hungarian Parliament voted a strong protest against this as being contrary to the Constitution. Then they returned to their homes to begin a campaign unprecedented in Hungary for the demands laid upon politicians and people to sink personal and party considerations, and to stand for great principles regardless of consequences.

Count Apponyi is resolved to stand steadfastly for the people's rights. His word is: "There must be no farthing's worth of the King's lawful prerogatives taken away, nor one iota of the people's rights suppressed." He says there must be no violence, but that the struggle must be kept strictly within

lawful and constitutional limits, and that there is no need to fear the outcome.

Looking at the situation from an exalted point of view, even tho he is himself a part of it, he can see the ultimate outcome, however various the phases thru which the crisis may pass. He says when one sees the great principles involved he knows what the result will be—victory for them, when faithfully represented.

His readiness to receive and advocate new and noble ideas has raised him to a place of eminence in the Interparliamentary Union, organized for the purpose of promoting peace among nations.

The resolution adopted by this Union at St. Louis, upon which the Second Hague Conference was called, contained a suggestion that such a conference ought to consider the advisability of creating an International Congress, to convene periodically. Learning that the president of the United States' membership in the Interparliamentary Union intended to present a plan for such a Congress to the 1905 session of the Union, I wrote to a number of European members, who had taken an active part in the St. Louis session, asking them to send me some ideas on this subject for publication in the American papers. Count Apponyi was the only one who did more than send a general acknowledgment of receipt of the letter. At that time he was involved in a more trying national situation than any of the others, except the members for

Norway and Sweden. But he found time to consider the idea and to send to America some words which will be hunted for and made a part of history after this International Congress is created and has become a fixed institution in human affairs.

I can here cite only a few sentences from the article published in *The Independent*: "Democracy can have but one sort of foreign policy: Boldly to uphold the banner of international justice and fraternity. She may make ready for self-defense; that is the tribute she must pay to an unsatisfactory state of things, which cannot be put away with a wave even of her powerful hand. . . . The crisis which weighs upon us . . . in no way affects our capacities for embracing higher ideals; it rather inspires us with stronger enthusiasm on their behalf. . . . Experience has taught us what a safeguard our neighbors' liberty is to our own, and how the highest interests of each nation are dependent on the security of all. . . . Apart from the feelings of universal brotherhood, to which our souls naturally incline, national egoism is enlightened enough among us to seek for guarantees of its own welfare in the concord and solidarity of mankind."

It was not an accident, therefore, that Count Apponyi was chosen by the Executive Council of the Interparliamentary Union to reply to the proposition made by Hon. Richard Bartholdt, of the United States Congress, that this Union should lead

the way in formulating a basis on which an International body can be founded, capable of bringing the law of nations out of the uncertainties of arbitrary interpretation into the clearness of a system sanctioned by the nations and kept up to date by modern legislative methods.

Count Apponyi's native tongue is Magyar, the national language of Hungary. But he can come abroad and speak to other nations in their tongue. In any company of Englishmen or Germans or Frenchmen he can express, in their language, as lofty ideas as any there assembled, and more eloquently than any save the very greatest of the orators in these countries.

Rising, at Brussels, on August 29th, 1905, and speaking eloquently, first in English and then in French, he declared, before the face of all nations, that the idea of an international deliberative body to substitute the reign of law for war between nations, having been put forward by members of the American Congress, would knock at the doors of Europe till it was admitted. Appointed on the commission composed of seven eminent statesmen, who are now considering the form such a body ought to have, he can pause in the struggle for the perfection of Hungary's national body, in order to give thought to the perfecting of Hungary's relations to all other national bodies. The national crisis in Hungary really clarifies his vision and inspires the acceptance of high ideals. And it is

not too much to hope that Count Apponyi will pass from the leadership in Hungary's national affairs, which he has done so much to rectify, into a seat in an International Congress which he has helped to create.

He courts the retirement offered by his ancestral estate. He is enticed by those intellectual walks which are found in the literary works of the great men of all nations. He loves the joys of home and family. But such men as he cannot be spared from the field where the world's work must be done.

When an international organization is created to do for all nations what has been accomplished thru so much toil for each nation individually, a day of unprecedented progress will have dawned. The swing of the world upward and forward will amaze even the most hopeful. And Count Apponyi's voice is sure to be heard in the halls of this World's Legislature.



CHAPTER XXXII.

In the Ranks of the Peace Army

AS the members of the Interparliamentary Union have seats in some national parliaments they are especially well placed for promoting the cause of Peace. They can rise in their seats and call on their respective governments to take the steps that will carry the world forward toward peace. They have constant access also to the Chief Executive of their country. Whereas, when other men become possessed of an idea which they think will promote the Peace of the world, if approved by the various governments, they are compelled to seek an advocate of their idea who does have some official position in their own or some other government.

The Interparliamentary Union can be truthfully called the General Staff of the Peace Army. Its conferences are the official councils of war in the campaign for Peace. The army of which it is the semi-official head is composed of a host of aspiring people, all of whom are actuated by that pure sentiment for Peace which has flashed out in noble souls in every country and in every age. Many of them have also that wisdom which must ever be the guiding star of sentiment before it can become effective.

Any work on the Peace Workers of the world which failed to give place to representatives from this host would be glaringly defective.

As representatives of this class I have selected five persons, with all of whom I have come in personal contact, and whom I know to be devoted and effective advocates of those ideas which alone can give effect, in due time, to the ardent desire of the great mass of mankind for permanent Peace and real Justice.

There are many men occupying places of great importance in the political world, but who are not connected with the Interparliamentary Union. Nevertheless, they will be powerful factors in the final realization of the plans of this Union, because they, too, are subject to the sentiments which inspire its members, are in positions of power, and can be counted on to use this power in the proper way at the proper time. As a representative of this class, I feel that I make no mistake in giving some idea of Francis Kossuth and William J. Bryan.

Then there is the noble army of great women, inspired by the purest sentiments and becoming an inspiration to others, keeping the light of hope brightly burning, during every hour of the darkest night of the darkest centuries of human existence.

As a representative of these I venture to include the Baroness Bertha von Suttner, and to accompany this mere outline of her character with an article

written by her own hand and published in *The Independent*.

Then there is the great army of armed men, who are regarded with horror in times of peace and with honor in times of war, particularly when they return home after having courageously and victoriously faced the dangers of war, into which they were sent by others, a war neither made nor desired by them, as a rule. It may not be true in other countries, but it is true in ours, that the sentiment for Peace is strong in the hearts of our armed men.

Washington set the example. Like David of old he longed for Peace, but was compelled to make war, and he made the enemy to beware of him. Truly we miss the full meaning of this man's life if we turn a deaf ear to the pleas he made for Peace, or a blind eye to the power with which he waged war when conditions demanded this.

Mr. Bartholdt, the leader in America of the Inter-parliamentary Peace forces, has pointed out that there is no necessary conflict between the advocates of Peace and of proper preparation for war, and has called upon the advocates of heavy armament to aid in promoting this practical plan which will in time do away with any necessity for great armaments, even if that necessity does now exist.

Capt. Richmond Pearson Hobson, who has seen some service on the firing line, and who is a conspicuous advocate of heavy armament, has justified Mr. Bartholdt's declaration by becoming an

ardent advocate of the Interparliamentary plan for Peace. His actions have given his name a place in the records of this movement, and in giving him a place in this little work on the Peace Workers, I feel that I am at least endeavoring to do justice by recognizing his work in the cause of Peace, without regard to whether his views on preparation for war are shared by the other Peace Workers. He agrees with them on the path that leads to Peace and is doing much to aid them in creating sentiment in favor of a speedy journey on that path. Personally I believe that the Peace Workers can count upon the entire army and navy of the United States to favor this plan for Peace.

They have a right, if this be true, to some recognition in a work on the Peace Workers, and who is more worthy to represent them than one of their number who has worked for this plan; and who has been elected to the United States Congress on a platform which declared for its earliest possible adoption by the United States Government.

Then there are the chief executives of the nations, many of whom are ardent advocates of Peace, and are engaged in sincere efforts to give effect to all the practical plans of the Peacemakers. Who among them has done more to promote Peace than Theodore Roosevelt?

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Francis Kossuth, the Hungarian

ON the eastern confines of Europe lies a section of the world called Hungary, peopled by a conglomeration of nationalities, among whom the Magyar is the master. The country is larger than the British Isles and has half as many people, but there is no English Channel to separate it from danger, so it has hit upon the expedient of electing the ruler of a neighboring nation to be its King, thus combining the power of the two nations for mutual defense against foreign foes, without, *in theory*, causing the loss of the political integrity of either nation. This political Siamese twin, each part of which was born at a different time, has occasioned some political storms, instead of becoming a perpetual guarantee of peace and liberty for its doubled self.

When the arrangement was made men were unaware that the world was round, and during the intervening centuries the country has seen many vicissitudes. But in 1867 it began a new era by the re-establishment of a Hungarian Parliament, with a House composed of noblemen, entitled to seats by inheritance, and a House composed of men elected by their cotemporaries. This Parliament became

at once a more or less stormy political sea, disturbed by various parties, and four decades have witnessed a steady growth in a party known as the Party of Independence. Its policy is not separation from Austria by having a person for Hungary's chief executive different from the Emperor of Austria, but complete individuality for Hungary in all parts and powers of national government, the head of Hungary remaining the head of Austria. In this way they hope to realize the original aim of the union in preservation of both nations from foreign foes, without impairing in any way the parts or powers of either.

During the first three decades of this last forty years Francis Kossuth was becoming a scientist, musician, artist, man of the world in a high sense. England, France, Italy, the Continent, was his abiding place. Besides scaling the heights of mathematics he has gone into the depths of civil engineering, mastered other branches of exact sciences, and has taken refuge from their cold calculations in the warm but harmonious world of music and art. He can touch the strings and make music yield him her treasures. He can touch the canvas and leave there the image of what was in his own thought. He can touch the clay, and it bears his mark for all who afterward behold it.

Loving the certitude of science, the harmony of music and art, what draws the man to launch his boat, after fifty years of peaceful life, upon the troubled waves of Hungarian political waters? What



PARLIAMENT OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE AT VIENNA.

but uncertainties and discords can there be found? Does the real man wish to make peace before he rejoices in it, to calm the storm before he can rest in its quiet wake? Whatever the cause, after fifty years of most active and successful life, thruout all Europe, Francis Kossuth appears at Budapesth. It was here, in 1848, that "Louis Kossuth liberated the serfs, and proclaimed in the teeth of his colleagues the principle of perfect political equality for all men."

It was from this place that Louis Kossuth fled to America, when the Revolution of 1848 was shattered, and, instead of liberty, a period of more arbitrary rule than ever was inaugurated for Hungary. It was from Budapesth that the Turk had been forced to depart after a century and a half of oppressive occupation, leaving the ancient royal palace of Hungary a ruin.

The palace had been rebuilt on the hights above the Danube. The new Parliament, one of the finest structures in the world, was rising on the other side of the stream, when Kossuth walked up to the great hill which overlooks the city and gazed at the peaceful flow of the river which has witnessed so many changes. He felt the inspiration which memory and imagination awake in a heart that loves his country, loves the hopes it has sacrificed so much for without ever realizing them, loves the great principles which have triumphed in nearly every nation, and for which Hungary must struggle till they are

established there also, to endure as long as human government endures.

It is not strange that he took a seat in the Hungarian Parliament, by election of the people, soon after he set his foot on Hungarian soil. It is not strange that he took his place at the head of the Party of Independence soon after he entered Parliament, nor that his rise to power has strengthened that party, and will soon give it control of Hungary. The time for Hungary's renewed struggle had come and Kossuth was the man for the occasion.

He brought into Hungarian politics a pure patriotism, based solely on the love of Hungary, and mixt with no hatred of other nations. On the contrary, his love of Hungary is heightened by a real devotion to other lands, where many happy scenes have brought him on his way. Count Apponyi said to me that Kossuth brought a patriotic Hungarian heart and a broad cosmopolitan mind into Hungarian political activity, and that in consequence the Party of Independence has made progress both in altitude and in latitude; in altitude, because Kossuth has changed its policy by taking his stand for the next step toward its absolute principle, without abandoning the principle and without insisting upon its present acceptance by others.

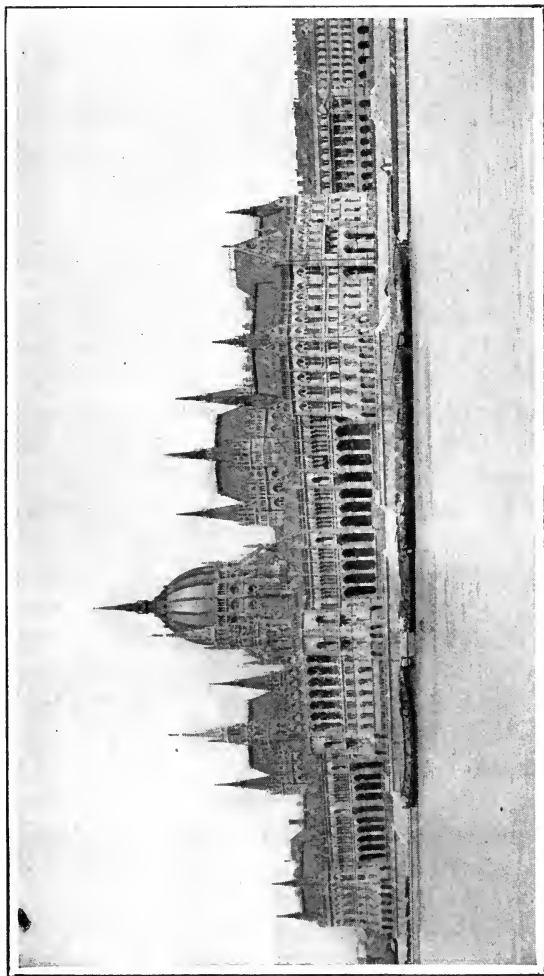
In latitude, because this has enabled others to join forces with it, who are not prepared to go the full length, but are in favor of the step proposed for the present taking. After the present step is taken will

be time enough to raise the question "What next?"

Has Francis Kossuth returned to Hungary to accomplish the hope of Louis Kossuth—separation from Austria?

Before I met him I would have answered, Yes. After I met him I must answer, No. If Hungary separates from Austria now it will be the work of the King's party, not the work of Kossuth and his party.

Before I considered the question on the ground I thought Hungary ought to separate from Austria. Actual observation of present conditions and the arguments of Kossuth, Apponyi and others persuaded me that Hungary's interest is to preserve the union at the same time that she perfects the form and operation of her own national machinery. And so far are they from desiring separation that they are steadfastly resolved to preserve the union, to prevent violence, to secure by peaceful means the concession of all the legitimate demands which Hungary can make. Two cardinal reasons can be given for explanation of this policy. First, Hungary is in the midst of nations still adhering to the idea of a hereditary head and an elective legislature for the government of a nation. Even England still clings to this. Second, Hungary is in the midst of political dangers, and needs Austria's help. Hungary has 20,000,000 people, Austria has 25,000,000. Forty million people are more than four times as strong as 20,000,000.



HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT HOUSE ON THE DANUBE AT BUDAPESTH.

Recently completed at a cost of \$10,000,000.

So Francis Kossuth says Hungary's interest is to acquire political liberty by perfecting a parliamentary system on the English plan, with the Emperor of Austria as King of Hungary. This will give the nation the benefit of every political liberty, except such incidental disadvantages as necessarily go with having a king whose affections are divided with another nation. They are counterbalanced, the Hungarian leaders think, by the greater power of defence which comes from the union.

This being Kossuth's purpose, he has become the leader of the Hungarian leaders in a remarkable political war, one of whose strangest phases is that the King's party hopes to remain in power by adopting universal suffrage as a plank of their platform, when Kossuth's party has been advocating that policy for nearly forty years. The King's party is playing with dangerous weapons, and, having antagonists who understand political warfare, and who love the people, who have made sacrifices for the people, they will find their boat on a very rough sea before they finish this campaign. If their volley of "universal suffrage" fired against the Magyars in Hungary does not leave the Magyars in control of Hungary, and simply end in multiplying their own difficulties in Austria, I have been deceived in my diagnosis of this political disease. The "divine right" in Austria will not escape unsinged after the furnace of universal suffrage has been fired in Austria for a season,

Tho Hungary has many races and the Magyar is dominant, that race has as its dominant politicians very large men—men who are resolved to unify their nation, not by stamping on the minority races but by conceding their legitimate demands. The King's party has been able, to a large degree, to hold the other nationalities on its side, against the Magyars, in their struggle for Hungarian national rights. But Kossuth says that every political right the Magyars have been able to conquer from the monarchical party they have shared with the other nationalities, even with those who took sides against them.

In this way Kossuth and his coworkers hope to work unity out of the medley of races which compose the Hungarian nation. What can do it, if a just policy proves inadequate, a policy designed for the welfare of the whole nation, and so administered as to benefit all who bestir themselves as good and active citizens, regardless of nationality?

On the other hand, Kossuth says the race problem is more difficult in Austria than in Hungary. There is no one nation with a clear numerical and mental predominance, as is the case in Hungary. In the second place, there is no permanent inherited national structure. Austria is a patchwork of races and a patchwork of political structure. The different parts have come from different quarters and at different times, like streams of liquids that do not mix, emptying into one vessel, which is not whole in itself but is patched up.

The German has been the dominant race in Austria, and is very loath to part with the political power. The Slavonic element is acquiring great strength, and Kossuth says the time will come when the Emperor of Austria must face this fact, that German dominance or parliamentary government must go in Austria. Kossuth says the solution lies in establishing real national structures for the Poles, the Germans, the Slavs, etc., and federating all in a real empire, with Vienna as the capital.

He says the Hapsburgh dynasty can solve these difficult Austrian problems more easily if they satisfy Hungary's legitimate demands and turn that part of the dual monarchy into a perfectly organized and autonomous nation, satisfied, unified, strong, loyal.

And it is an indication of Kossuth's character that in ten years, despite the natural inference from his relation to Louis Kossuth, he has won the confidence of the King to a greater degree than many men who are among the nobility of Hungary and have spent many years in Hungarian politics.

These things he told me on the way to Szabadka the first Sunday after the King had unconstitutionally prorogued the Parliament. It was strange to be witnessing a political meeting on Sunday. But when I had witnessed it to the end I was persuaded that it was as really a religious service as one can find without great searching. Ten thousand people resolved to stand by this man and his associates with



FRANCIS KOSSUTH.

their lives. He resolved that no violence should occur, that no weakening on principle should take place, that the rights of Hungary must be conceded by the King of Hungary, and that Christianity demanded the settlement of the question in the arena of conscience and reason, not on the field of violence.

Then a miniature of Hungary streamed thru the streets of Szabadka, singing the national hymn, with Kossuth and Apponyi in the lead, both devoted to and capable of achieving the welfare of Hungary. There were landlords, peasants, college professors, workingmen, all classes of society. Both the leaders and the people had risen to a determination to do a dangerous duty regardless of consequences, and they had done it in a religious spirit. Can the King's party overthrow such men before an aroused nation?

Count Apponyi told me that what I saw at Szabadka I could see all over Hungary, and I have a presentiment that this is perfectly true. And it may be confidently expected that the fires of this political furnace will fuse the coalition into one party, with Francis Kossuth, the Hungarian, as its recognized leader. Hungary has 20,000,000 people. The nation will have been awakened and elevated to a high national sentiment. This will put Kossuth at the head of one of the largest, best disciplined, most patriotic and united political forces in Europe. With what outcome? An outcome good for Hungary; good also for Austria and the Hapsburgh dynasty if they learn to read political handwriting

on the wall without a Daniel to interpret it, and consent to hearken to it. I believe also that it will be good for Europe and America and Asia. And I can give a few reasons. The others are beyond the limits of an article like this.

During a long talk with Kossuth, at a time when he was in the midst of the endless mass of work coming upon the leader of such a movement as now sweeps over Hungary, I found him ready to discuss the problems of world politics and to take positions which leading men in America are not yet up to. He said he agreed with an English mathematician and philosopher who had worked out the orbit of civilization as being a movement forward and upward, then down and backward, then forward and upward again.

I asked him where we are now. He said, "Going down." "Why do you think so?" He then gave me several reasons, basing them on distinctly European manifestations, among which are the following:

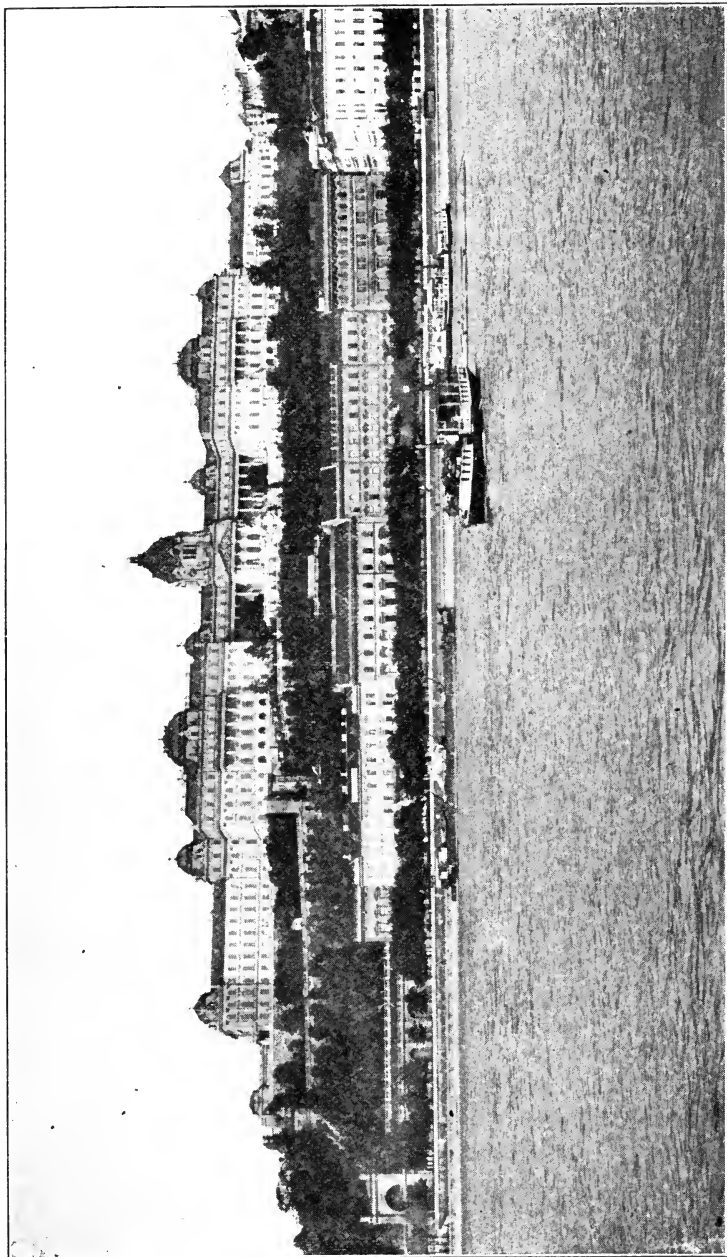
He said in some parts of Europe a movement against religion is noticeable. "Now, belief in God moralizes man, and, besides, in the vicissitudes of life, faith comforts man. And man needs both comforting and to be moralized." Then he said there is a movement against the family, undertaking to magnify the state's relation to a child and to minimize the parents' relation. Then he spoke of a labor conflict, in which the disturbed and distraught people

had destroyed the works and attempted to blot out the technical knowledge on which the operation of the business, and therefore their own welfare, depended. This he referred to in connection with the receipt of threats against life by men who are working for the welfare of the very people who threaten them.

I asked him if all these were not blind attempts to right wrongs, the delusion of the mass by false suppositions, and consequently, if the thing that gives the forward and upward swing is not the discovery and application of the true idea by the best men in many places, thus providing a real remedy for the wrong. He said yes, he thought that was the reason for the upward swing. And he is making a mighty and devout effort to cause the upward swing in Hungary.

As I was leaving he said: "There is great confusion in what is called International Law, because each nation interprets that law for itself. It should be brought into one clearly defined and understood code of law, and a suitable method for keeping it up to date should be provided. Say in America for me that the United States Government should propose this, if it wants to do something of great present and permanent value to the whole world. If they propose it, I am sure it can be carried thru."

I had handed him a copy of *Harper's Monthly*, containing an account, by Prof. John B. Moore, of his father's interview with Henry Clay. And as I



ROYAL PALACE OF HUNGARY, ACROSS THE DANUBE FROM THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE.

It is seldom occupied, because the King of Hungary prefers to live at his Palace in Austria.

went away, that scene came vividly to my mind. Hungary's forces having been crushed by Austria because Russia came to the aid of the oppressors, Kossuth fled to America, invited by Act of Congress to come, with the other Hungarian patriots, and make their home among us. He came, however, with the hope of our returning with him to drive oppression out of his native land and to re-establish the liberty of the people.

Being on fire with devotion to the cause for which he fought, he set fire to the American people, and his journey from New York to Washington was like an ovation. At Washington the Congress began to come under the spell of his hopes and enthusiasm. Henry Clay was still the power there, and a day came when he and Kossuth confronted each other. That was an interview indeed! Clay's eyes were still shining with that strange light, seen always in the faces of those who devote a lifetime to the performance of dangerous and difficult duties. He protested against Kossuth's effort to bring America into the European struggle. He declared his devotion to the great principles of political liberty, his determination to be faithful to them, and his knowledge that this compelled America to keep her light brightly burning, in order that its rays might shine thruout the world, to inspire in every people the will to achieve their liberty; then he said that our light would go out when we sent our armed forces across the sea to take a hand in even the battles for

liberty; thus destroying ourselves, by unwise action in the cause we love, instead of remaining the saviors of others by fidelity to the principles involved. When that interview was over Kossuth's hope of American intervention was gone, but his hope, his knowledge, that right would prevail never died, never even darkened, but shone ever brightly, even in exile. Since then America's light has crossed the continent, and is now seen on both the ocean fronts and on three thousand miles of inland frontier. Kossuth's son has risen to the seat of power in Hungary. And in the hands of a son of Gotlieb Bartholdt, a fellow sufferer with Kossuth in the storm of 1848, the American light has crossed the Atlantic and been raised on high at Brussels, in the form of a demand for the application of the great principles of political liberty to man's widest interests—the interests common to the people of all nations. It was Kossuth's associate, Count Apponyi, who aided most effectually in this great achievement. Two days before Kossuth sent this message to us, pointing out how we can make more luminous the light which Clay knew how to keep burning half a century ago, Count Apponyi handed to the President of the Interparliamentary Commission his views on the proper basis for an International Congress.

Thus America is coming to the aid of Hungary, and of all other nations, prepared to receive and to apply the fundamental principles of political liberty,

not with an armed hand, but with an illumined mind and a firm resolve. And, as Count Apponyi declared, on the day the Peace of Portsmouth was announced in Europe, the Idea embodied in the American proposal will knock at Europe's doors till it is admitted. After it is admitted and accepted as the guiding principle of Europe's politics, the hopes of true patriots in every country will be realized.

It is good for Hungary, also for the world, that Kossuth and Apponyi are in control of Hungary. They see the errors committed by her patriots in the past. They are resolved and they have the power to steer Hungary past these dangers into the haven of Constitutional Parliamentary Government for herself, and they are awake to the necessity of making national existence and prosperity more secure, by the application of the same principle to Hungary's relations with other nations.

Richard Bartholdt and Francis Kossuth are privileged to lead in the accomplishment of what their fathers could only labor and hope for, to some extent in vain, to some extent unwisely.

Writing to the *Figaro* recently Kossuth said: "We love our country, our Hungary, as much as the French people love France. Why should we love our Hungary less? Because she has suffered more than France. * * * The struggle is liberty against autocracy, lawful against unlawful operation of government, order against anarchy in a nation which would risk its life for truth."

Do these things shed any light on the return of Kossuth to Hungary, after fifty years have handed him their treasures of wisdom, in a wise and well ordered life in other lands? Besides all these things there are doubtless mighty forces which operate to govern unconsciously the movements of men and masses. When the world is trembling in revolution, evolution, devolution, Kossuth returns to Hungary for a sufficient reason.



CHAPTER XXXIV.

William Jennings Bryan

FEW men in America are seen thru such a mist of misconception by so great part of their fellow citizens as William J. Bryan. This results from the volcanic eruption during the political campaign of 1896, when those opposed to Mr. Bryan were made to feel that the ordinary terms of demagog, etc., were inadequate. Socialist was too good a word. "Anarchist" was frequently found in publications not having the reputation of being either sensational or yellow. Millions of Americans were made to believe that Mr. Bryan's chief aim in life was to steal the property of Americans by way of an act of Congress.

The man stood this storm and has borne up under the clouds which followed in its wake, and which still hang on the American horizon. They are no longer lowering, as in the 1896 time, nor are they dark, as in 1900. But they are still dense enough to distort the image of the man when thousands of his countrymen hear his name mentioned. Either the real man is as I and countless others see him, or he is as his political opponents believed him to be and as they pictured him a decade ago. Which is the real Bryan?

None of us can take another man's opinion, but we can form our own opinion in the light of facts. In drawing this sketch of him I will state the facts as I believe they occurred. If these facts are true, then they proclaim the man.

Six years ago, while traveling in Europe, I was impressed with the fact that Europeans of eminence whom I met accepted the Republican opinion of Mr. Bryan. I sought for the reason and soon found it. The metropolitan press and the reports of the foreign correspondents at New York and Washington create the atmosphere thru which Europeans see Americans generally. These foreign correspondents are in close touch with the metropolitan papers. Regardless of their individual leanings, they find themselves perpetually in touch with and to some extent influenced by the opinions which pervade the precincts of the great dailies at the metropolis. In the next place, Europeans naturally regard more highly those Americans who succeed. "If a man is right, why doesn't he win?" may not be consciously said by the great mass of humanity in the formation of its opinions, but it is an operative factor and not the least powerful one. In the third place, Europeans were more convinced than even the Republicans of America that Bryan's silver opinions were not only wrong, but foolish, even dangerous in a high degree. This predisposed Europeans to accept every bad opinion of the man which found a way to them thru the press. I re-

member meeting a gentleman in a railway train near London who asked me if Mr. Bryan would ever be heard of in American politics, now that he had been defeated again in 1900. It was a new thought, and I answered it on the spur of the moment somewhat like this: Mr. Bryan can't live without observing what is going on. He can't do this without forming and expressing opinions. When he expresses opinions they have power with the people. You cannot put such a man down. Mr. W. T. Stead asked me about him, and was readier than any other man I met to accept my answers as probably true. Among other things, Mr. Stead asked what Bryan would do in regard to international arbitration. I had never heard Mr. Bryan express himself, but I assured Mr. Stead that he would be one of its ablest advocates in America when the proper moment came. Three years after that Mr. Bryan went to Europe for the first time. He was invited to speak at a great assembly of eminent men in London. It took him only one hour to dissipate the mental fog which hung over Europe concerning him. Unaffected by the personal or party antagonisms of American politics, the eyes of these men opened instantly, so that they saw in Bryan a really great man. Thruout all Europe he was honored, not perfunctorily, but sincerely and in unusual ways. The light which dawned in Europe then has since been making its way westward. But the fog was thicker here, particularly

on the Atlantic seaboard. But I have noticed that a corrected impression of Mr. Bryan is coming out during the past two years in many Eastern publications. His recent tour of foreign countries seems to have raised him to a place of very great honor among the really exalted people of the Old World. I speak not of those whose position depends on the law of heredity, but of those who are in high places because they have demonstrated unusual individual capacity. I became personally acquainted with a number of these men during the past two years. They are well acquainted with what we may call the "power of Europe" in accepting the Biblical description of the controlling personalities of the day. And they tell me that Mr. Bryan is now recognized in Europe as great, even for an American of the best type.

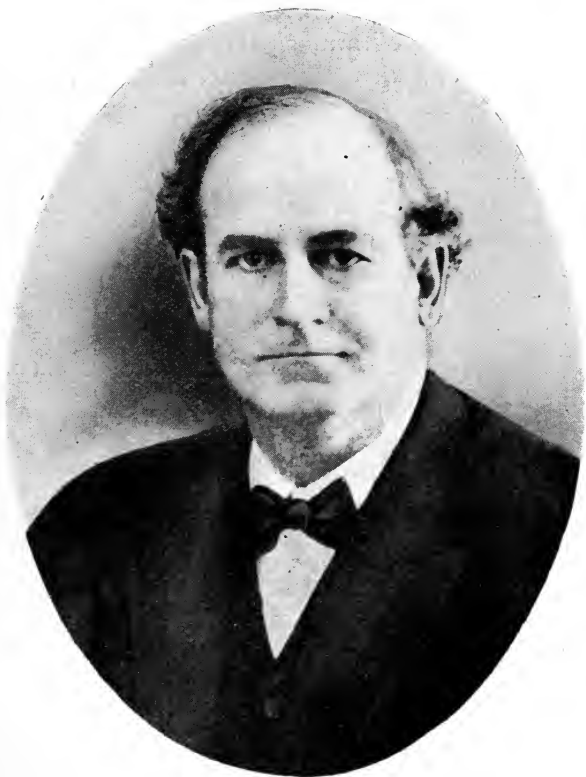
During the recent Conference at London he walked into a place of commanding influence without any effort whatever. It contained members of Cabinets, Speakers of National Assemblies, leaders of great political parties. Being an eye witness of this, it was not possible to remain blind to it, unless personal or party considerations closed the eyes or made a cloud to conceal the fact which was so plain to unprejudiced observers. Then, too, he was able to induce this great International House of Representatives to take a longer step forward than it would otherwise have done, and I felt that the Conference took this longer step more confidently and

more firmly than it was prepared to take the less progressive stand proposed prior to the advent of Mr. Bryan into its councils.

Mr. Bartholdt, of the American delegation, had already proposed taking the very step which Mr. Bryan induced the Conference to take, and it was delightful to see that Mr. Bryan's assistance, in strengthening the knees of the Europeans in the face of this bold move, was so heartily appreciated by Mr. Bartholdt. When politicians become advocates of a noble idea that makes them statesmen. And among real statesmen party and personal considerations vanish, and the success of the idea becomes the chief concern.

Mr. Bryan, when called on to address this great assembly, began by saying that the executive committee had improved his motion by the modification they had made in it. Then he stated that Mr. Bartholdt, a year before, had suggested the same idea, and that he was glad to follow in Mr. Bartholdt's footsteps in its advocacy. There was no evidence of a desire to achieve special credit for himself, but to acknowledge justly and simply all the facts and to unite with the others in an effort to get the right idea adopted.

And the fact is that Mr. Bryan suggested, in an open letter to Mr. Roosevelt, the advocacy of this idea by the United States, at the very moment when Mr. Bartholdt was putting it forward at Brussels in 1905 for acceptance by the world's lawmakers



WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

who are working for arbitration as a substitute for war. Neither man knew what the other was doing. Both were standing for what seemed to them right, and events brought them together at London, where, by concert of action, they succeeded in getting it accepted by the most powerful organized body in international affairs.

Do these things reveal the character of the man as he really is? Actions reveal character. So do words when the word constitutes an action. And words spoken in such assemblies, with a view to influencing the action of nations, do constitute an action.

Many of us remember the visit which David B. Hill paid Mr. Bryan in 1900, on his way to the Democratic National Convention. Many of us hoped the silver issue would be left out of consideration, so that the campaign could be fought on Imperialism and Trusts, with the never-dying tariff issue in the background. Mr. Hill was very anxious for this, and unless I am much mistaken this is about what passed between these men. Mr. Hill gave good reasons why Bryan would be defeated if the silver issue was raised and elected if it was not raised—ignored for the time. Mr. Bryan feared that it would lose its place if ignored. Right or wrong, he believed in it. He could not let himself be used as an undertaker to bury what he considered a true idea, necessary for the people's salvation from political ills. So he told Mr. Hill

that he would rather be right than President. And that if the party declared for ideas which he was devoted to, he could be its leader. If it failed to declare for the ideas which he regarded as the necessary issues of the day, then some other man who was more perfectly in accord with the party would necessarily be the logical leader. Being at the time the representative of this silver idea, he could only accept leadership of the party if the party was for that idea.

Many Democrats believe that Mr. Bryan's fidelity to his idea of right lost him the Presidency in 1900. Those who saw his action in this light esteemed him more highly than if he had been elected by infidelity to his convictions.

When Roosevelt sent his Railway Rebate Message to Congress, Democrats were compelled to choose between infidelity to principles which they had espoused and supporting Mr. Roosevelt in this fight. Mr. Bryan had shaken the country in his powerful advocacy of these and related ideas. Now some of the principles he advocated stood a chance of winning, provided a Republican was permitted to lead in the battle. Mr. Bryan immediately declared that any Democrat who failed to support Mr. Roosevelt with all his power was unfit for a seat in Congress.

To me these things make it plain that in Mr. Bryan we have a man who can stand for what is revealed to him as true, who has an uncommon

capacity to see the true principles, great power of advocacy, not only among all the common people, but among uncommon people. He can stand steadfastly for what he believes to be right, regardless of the consequences, and can persist in this during long years of misrepresentation and misconception, without being touched by illwill or bitterness.

Of course, you cannot compress a man into a mere skeleton like this. And I am not even trying to picture Mr. Bryan, only to bring out some facts which clear the sky for his own words and actions to be more truly seen and more justly estimated by those whom party politics has removed far from him. For his admirers any words of praise, not to speak of description, will seem cold and useless. And no man has secured such a hold upon the masses of the American people since I have been watching events. He seems to be like the early statesmen in his character and in its effect upon his fellow countrymen. And by his recent actions he has become one of the world's Peacemakers, and he is not the least esteemed among that honorable company of great and noble men.



CHAPTER XXXV.

The Baroness Von Suttner*

BY HAYNE DAVIS

A COMMITTEE of the Norwegian Parliament is compelled every year to scan the world's sky of peace workers for that particular star which has shed the brightest light upon the night of our war era, in order to award justly the Peace Prize of \$40,000 provided by the will of Alfred Nobel, the Swede.

The first year it went to that venerable and wonderful representative of France, Frederick Passy, who, with William Randal Cremer, of England, organized the Interparliamentary Union. Last year it went to Mr. Cremer. This year, when the Norwegians saw the light of Baroness Suttner's incessant activity for the world's peace, they ceased from their labors and awarded it to her. It was she who inspired Alfred Nobel to make this remarkable bequest, and Frederick Passy has called her the General-in-Chief of the World's Peace Army.

No award of this prize has given more delight to those who know what Baroness Suttner has done and endured. Inspiring Mr. Nobel to make this bequest was in itself a great service to the cause, and yet it was small when compared to what she

* Reprinted from *The Outlook*, February, 1906.

has done by her own actions. For nearly twenty years she has never ceased to cry out in passionate appeals for peace, and in a world where women are not accorded that welcome on the stage of public effort which greets them in America. Her voice has gone into the depths of many hearts in many lands, and the response which it awoke has greatly increased the world-wide and world-old desire for peace. "Lay Down Your Arms" is the English title of her most widely read work. It has been translated into all the principal languages and has touched a vast audience. When I saw her at Vienna, in October, she was just starting into Germany, in continuation of her habit, on an extended tour to speak for peace.

She told me that many people had declared to her that America was abandoned to pursuit of material wealth and power, and, as many published things made our sky look dark when viewed from Europe, she could not know what to believe of us, but that two weeks after she set foot on American soil and felt the spirit of our people she knew that in America is the hope of mankind. She expressed great gladness for her power to judge justly of this matter, and said that now she could carry on her campaign conscious of a great army in America supporting her of which she was before unconscious, and which she now knows will insure the final victory for peace.

It was at the fourteenth International Peace Con-



BARONESS BERTHA VON SUTTNER.

gress at Lucerne that I first had the pleasure of meeting her. The session was over; the clouds hung heavily over the Alps. I found Baroness Suttner somewhat depressed with the partings and with the inevitable suggestions which come after every forward move, and which attempt to rob us of our well-earned victory. She had heard, but only in a vague way, of the Brussels session of the Inter-parliamentary Union, for European papers are not American papers. When it was clearly developed to her how a delegation from the United States Congress, headed by the Hon. Richard Bartholdt, had proposed to delegations from eighteen other national parliaments the creation of an International Congress, so as to provide a system of law for the conduct of international intercourse; how Count Albert Apponyi had declared in the Conference that this grand idea would knock at the world's official doors till it was admitted; how it had been accepted in principle by the Conference, and a commission, composed of seven eminent members of Parliament, appointed to work out the details for its practical realization, and how one hundred and twenty-five audiences, aggregating one hundred thousand people, on motion of Captain Hobson, had enthusiastically indorsed this idea between January and August, 1905, and how the great Mohonk Conference had cabled its approval and an expression of gratitude to Mr. Bartholdt, she looked long and silently at the colorless clouds hovering over Lake

Lucerne. Mr. Felix Moscheles, of London, the eminent artist, was in the company, and he broke the silence by asking. "What are you seeing?" The Baroness replied, "The clouds which this light from America makes radiant."

For many years she had held steadfastly to the premonition that somehow and in some way peace must come. The night was never dark enough to extinguish her hope, nor the discouragements heavy enough to stop her labors. Now the way was made plain, and powerful allies were revealed across the ocean, in the land to which she had begun to look for light and strength. She told me afterward, at Vienna, that this had begun a new era for her, the light now shining on the path ahead, and with the goal in sight.

She has been long among those who are not responsive to her thoughts and purposes. At the very outset she had to go against the current of opinion. Austria is one of those states which are still vainly endeavoring to limit nobility and power to the privileged few. When the heir to the throne was seized, five years ago, with love for a remarkable Countess, whose family has been illustrious for centuries, it created consternation at Court. For a Countess is not royal, only noble. It was finally agreed, however, that he might marry her, provided he would renounce forever all claim to the throne for his children; and he solemnly made this renun-

ciation in the presence of a great company of important persons—for instance, the Emperor, the Ministers of State, the high dignitaries of the Roman Church, who sanction the idea of the divine right of kings. The account of this scene in the papers sounded like an echo from some far-away sepulcher instead of a twentieth-century fact. Well, Baroness Suttner had to go thru a similar ordeal. Simple Americans are apt to suppose that a Baron is somebody. So he is when a Count is not present. Now all the Austrian Counts seemed to the Countess Bertha von Kinsky of small worth compared to Baron von Suttner. And consequently she broke all court considerations, abandoned her place and position and people, and ran away even from her nation to marry the man who seemed to her a man indeed. She endured many hardships in consequence, besides the loss of comfort and position. The timely acceptance of articles by a magazine helped to make a dinner of herbs, where love was, better than a banquet in gilded halls without it. But times change even in Austria. A long life of noble effort finds Baroness Suttner again in her place at the Austrian Court. A Prince can be Vice-President of a Peace Society of which she is President. Austrian members of the Hague Court, Ministers of State, Admirals of the Navy, Chancellors of the Universities, Ambassadors from other lands, now feel honored to attend her when her doors are opened. Who in

America can fail to rejoice in the triumph of Baroness Suttner, because she is a woman, because she has worked so wisely and well in a cause which Americans are now determined to push to final victory, and at no distant day?



CHAPTER XXXVI.

How I Wrote, "Lay Down Your Arms"*

BY BARONESS BERTHA VON SUTTNER.

I T was toward the end of the year 1880, when I had already reached a mature age and was in the midst of zealous studies in science, philosophy and history, that the idea dawned on me and soon became a deep-set conviction, that war was an institution handed down to us by the barbarians, and to be removed by civilization. At this same moment I learned by accident that a society existed in England based on this same idea and aiming to influence public opinion in favor of the creation of a court of arbitration. So I hastened to write to this "Peace and Arbitration Association" and asked for information. The now venerable Hodgson Pratt, who is the founder and president of that organization, forthwith sent me the bylaws and publications of the society, and thenceforth kept up an active correspondence with me. Thus it was that I learned all that had been done and all that remained to be done in this important field of work.

The more I looked into the question the more I became absorbed by it, and the more eager I was to do what little I could to advance the cause of peace. As I had had some experience in author-

* Reprinted from *The Independent* of February 1, 1906.

ship, I felt that it was in the department of literature that I could do the most good. My idea was at first, to write a little story in which I would describe a young woman who had lost her beloved husband on the battlefield, and who then, as it had happened to me, suddenly awoke to the condemnation of war. In my own case, however, my convictions were based only on theories, whereas my heroine was to be converted thru dire experience.

While I was engaged in gathering materials for my little tale, so much accumulated on my hands and my mind was so teeming with my subject, that from a novelette my plan grew into a two-volume novel. Not satisfied with superficial information, I now began to consult recognized authorities, to study the campaigns of 1859, 1864, 1866 and 1870-71, to read the memoirs of different generals, to examine the reports of army surgeons and the Red Cross Society, to rummage in libraries and archives, among the diplomatic dispatches exchanged during these periods and among the orders given the various armies. Provided with this data, I set to work on the historical scaffolding of my book and the development of my plot, whose foundation was, of course, the ardent condemnation of war; and when I could write on the last page of my manuscript "The End," and put at the head of the first page, "Lay Down Your Arms," I felt that now I really was in a position to do something for the cause so near my heart. I was armed!

Full of confidence, I sent my manuscript to the Stuttgart editor who had always heretofore accepted what I offered him and who had recently asked me for a fresh one. But it was promptly returned to me with this message: "We regret it, but this novel we cannot use." So I tried other editors, but all declined it with the remark: "This does not interest our public," or "It would offend many of our readers," or "It is impossible to publish this in the present military state of affairs." Such were the opinions of the leading editors of German periodicals.

I next turned toward the publishers, and first sent the manuscript to my habitual publisher, Pierson, of Dresden. He kept it a long time and then advised me to change the title, which he found too aggressive, and to submit the manuscript to a competent public man for revision, who would suppress or modify the passages which could give offense in military and political circles. This I, of course, utterly refused to permit. The title of the book expressed clearly the purpose I had in writing it, and told the reader, without any subterfuge, just what he was to expect between the covers, while the passages which it was proposed to cut out because they would excite disapproval in certain quarters were the very essence of the book, what gave it its *raison d'être*. So I would consent to no change, either in title or text.

As I afterward took part in the peace movement,

it has been thought in some quarters that I wrote this book as a consequence of that movement. . But the facts are exactly the contrary. My book made me a peace advocate, but it did not spring from my participation in that reform. This is how it happened :

In the spring of 1891, about fifteen months after the publication of "Lay Down Your Arms," I and my husband were stopping in Venice. One afternoon somebody knocked at the door, and, the servant being absent, my husband himself opened it. An elderly, well-dressed gentleman was standing on the landing.

"Does the Baroness von Suttner live here?" he asked.

"Yes; she is my wife," was the answer.

"What! you are the husband of Madame von Suttner—Bertha von Suttner?"

"I certainly am."

"You are not dead, then?"

"With your permission, I am still living."

"But were you not shot in Paris?"

"It seems not."

In the meantime I stepped forward and led our guest into the drawing-room, when he presented himself to us and told us the object of his visit. We soon learned that we had before us Mr. Felix Moscheles, son of the celebrated composer, Ignaz Moscheles, and godson of Felix Mendelssohn, he himself a painter, an earnest peace advocate and vice-

president of the London Peace and Arbitration Association. He told us he had been ill during a pleasure trip in Egypt, and his wife, to amuse him, had given him a copy of "Lay Down Your Arms" to read. He began the book rather against his will, he went on to tell us, for he does not care for fiction. But when he saw the nature of the volume he hurried thru to the end with feverish interest, because here were all his own views against war condensed in a living and possible story. "I must make the acquaintance of the author of this volume," he then and there said, and forthwith decided to journey home via Vienna. He had intended simply to pass thru Venice, but while telling one of his friends why he was going to Vienna, learned that the person sought for was at that moment in Venice, and that she even lived in the Pleazzo Dario, just opposite his lodgings. So he started out immediately to make the personal acquaintance of the unhappy widow, the expounder of all his cherished ideas, when lo! her lawful husband himself opens the door. Thus the widowhood was found to be fiction, while the communion of ideas is still a living thing; and, during that first hour was formed a friendship between us three which has lasted without a cloud from that time to this, and whose first act, on the evening of that same day, was the laying the foundations of a new work which was to have an important influence on the peace movement.

At that time there lived in Venice, where he kept

open house, Marquis Beniamino Pandolfi and his wife, who had been a friend of my childhood. I knew that Pandolfi, who was a member of the Italian Parliament, was a supporter of peace ideas, and, as he was giving a reception that evening, I suggested to Mr. Moscheles that he seize the occasion to speak with him about the movement in England, and that he urge him to secure, among his colleagues in the Italian Parliament, adherents to the Interparliamentary Union, which was at that time a very small body. It was especially important to strengthen this organization at that moment, for in November of that year the Union was to meet at Rome. This association had been founded in 1888 by Wm. R. Cremer, M. P., of London, and Frederic Passy, of Paris, then member of the Chamber of Deputies, and it was at the French capital, during the International Exhibition of 1889, that the first Interparliamentary Conference was held, France and England alone being represented. The second meeting was held in London, with a few more parliaments represented, and now the third meeting was to take place in Rome.

The result of the advent of Mr. Felix Moscheles at the Palazzo Bianca Capello, Pandolfi's home, was that, while the elegant society of Venice and its gay youth were dancing and eating in the big dining-room, a long conversation took place in the host's study, in which the Marquis, Mr. Moscheles and we two participated. The upshot of it all was that not

only did Pandolfi promise to aid in the organization of the approaching conference, but invitations and circulars were prepared on the spot looking to the foundation in Venice of a peace society. The plan succeeded, and some of the most prominent men of the town came into the movement. Shortly after this social meeting at Pandolfi's he returned to Rome, Mr. Moscheles to London and my husband and myself to Vienna.

In the course of a few weeks I learned from Pandolfi that he was having marked success in securing collaboration in Rome, and at the same time we began working up a favorable sentiment in Vienna. We talked to our Parliament friends of the newly established peace society of Venice and of the coming meeting in Rome, and in the end I had the great pleasure of being instrumental in bringing about the formation of a Parliamentary group at the Austrian capital. I addressed myself personally or by letter to one after another of the members of Parliament, sent them the Pandolfi circulars, and used every possible means to secure an Austrian delegation for the Rome conference. In this ungrateful preliminary labor I was especially aided by two Deputies, Barons Pisquet and Kübek. I still have in my possession letters from different prominent members of that time which dwell on the inopportuneness of the proposal and the practical difficulties in the way of its realization. But we succeeded, nevertheless, in getting a delegation sent to Rome, with Dr. Russ at its

head. This was an important step. Another was to follow.

It was a fancy of mine that, at the same time with the holding of the Interparliamentary Conference, it would be a good idea if an international congress of peace societies were also assembled in the Eternal City. But as there was no such society in Vienna, I seemed thus called upon to create one there. In undertakings born to succeed, there generally lies an ingenuous ignorance of the risks, an incomprehension of the obstacles and a happy unconsciousness of one's own arrogance. So, on September 1st, 1891, I sent out a call for the founding of an Austrian peace society, and great was my astonishment, two days later, to see it given a conspicuous place on the first page of a leading Vienna daily, the *New Free Press*, with these words from the editor accompanying it: "On this question no authority is higher than that of the author of 'Lay Down Your Arms.'" Then followed this editorial comment on the idea set forth in the call:

"Because of the new instruments of destruction and the increased armed forces, war has been changed into a thing that ought to be described by another name. Because of the continuous development of warlike preparations, armies are now quite different from what they were when we last saw them brought face to face. Let me illustrate my meaning. If you keep on warming a bath till the water boils, so that the person who steps, rather falls, into the tub is scalded to death, can you still call this a bath?"

Since the above lines were written, fifteen years ago, things have gone from bad to worse, and this

will go on. The great book of the late Jean de Bloch, "The Future War," proves this. From all sides pour in the accusations against the wholesale murder of modern warfare. The god of war, who has silently grown into a race-devouring Moloch, has been brought before the awakened conscience of the world. He is summoned to defend himself, or, if he fails to do so, to accept the death warrant which sooner or later must be his lot.

The response to my call astonished me much more than its prompt publication in the Vienna daily. Immediately hundreds of enthusiastic letters came pouring in upon me from all classes of society, and prominent persons offered to aid in founding the proposed organization. So thus was the Austrian Peace Society established, of which I am still president. I was sent as its delegate to the Rome Peace Congress, and there, in the Capitol, I made my first public appearance in the peace movement. So I repeat, that the writing of the novel, "Lay Down Your Arms," cannot be regarded as a result of my public career, but, on the contrary, my career sprang from the novel.

All this is now very far off. Then, novels and the forming of peace societies were important factors toward the advancement of the movement. But today it has reached such a point and is associated with such high and decisive political problems, that the acts of the individual, in letters or societies, have been pushed into the background. It has become the

question of the hour, and neither the energy of its originators nor the pleadings of its followers are now essential to its final triumph.

What we must do now is to develop the existing



FREDERIC PASSY.

ELI DU COMMON.

BARONESS BERTHA VON SUTTNER.

Three Recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize.

organizations, such as the Interparliamentary Union, The Hague Tribunal, etc., and create an international political system that will give a legal basis to universal peace. Practical work toward an ideal

end is peculiarly the part of America and Americans. It is quite natural, therefore, that it should be the United States branch of the Interparliamentary Union that has formulated a plan for the accomplishment of this grand result. At the next Conference of The Hague, whose convocation we owe to President Theodore Roosevelt, the proposal of the American body and its chairman, Mr. Bartholdt, Member of Congress, will be laid before the world. Then will the peace movement take another grand step forward.



CHAPTER XXXVII.

Captain Richmond Pearson Hobson

TWENTY years ago a boy from Greensboro, Ala., entered the United States Naval Academy. Tho only fourteen years old when he took his place among the hundreds of embryo naval officers assembled at Annapolis from every Congressional district in the Union, he had won his appointment, not thru political influence, wealth or position, but because of demonstrated merit. He had received the highest mark in a difficult competitive examination such as guards the doors to our national academies, when the members of Congress decide to let competence instead of favoritism determine their appointments.

This boy was Richmond Pearson Hobson, son of Judge James Marcellus Hobson, of Alabama; grandson of Chief Justice Richmond M. Pearson, of North Carolina, and great nephew of John Motley Morehead, one of the greatest Governors of North Carolina.

Thus descended, and educated entirely in the schools of his native State, Hobson was a real representative of the South of our day.

According to the custom of the Academy, during his second year Hobson became "officer of the day"

* Reprinted from the Greensboro *Watchman*, Greensboro, Ala., April 23d, 1906.

in due course. The cadet who acts in this capacity represents the Academy and is required at the end of the day to sign a report stating that it contains a record of all the violations of the rules seen by him.

Hobson reported every violation he observed.

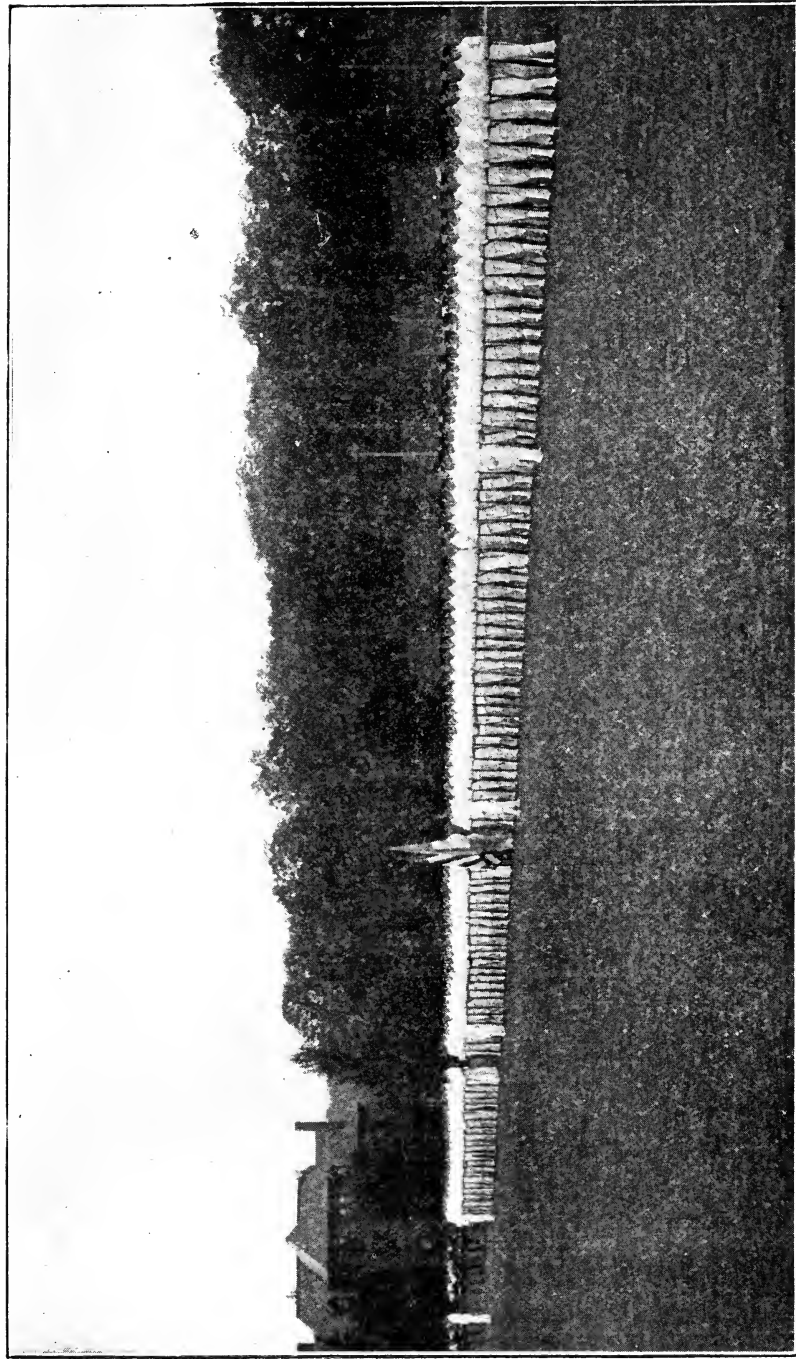
The next day he was visited by some of his classmates, who informed him that it was not customary for the "officer of the day" to report members of his own class, and that he ought to follow this custom.

When Hobson's turn came again, he reported all violations, as before. This time a class committee called upon him and stated that if he persisted in making full reports he would be ostracized by his classmates. Hobson replied that they could do as they pleased, but he would have to do as he thought right.

The next time his report as "officer of the day" went in it was complete as before. The threatened penalty was enforced and for the rest of his time at Annapolis Hobson was cut by all but one of the members of his class.

Even then he did not waver, but stuck to his own conception of duty, which was in strict accordance with the rules of the Academy. He never reported to the authorities, however, that his classmates had ostracized him. Nor did his father, mother or friends know that his life at school was anything but the happiest.

Up to this time Hobson had stood third in his



THE AMERICAN BOYS NOW IN THE CLASS THAT WILL BE GRADUATED IN 1910 FROM THE NAVAL ACADEMY AT ANNAPOLIS.

class. The following year he shot so far to the front that the average of the three years placed him at the head. The fourth year he went even further ahead. So manly had been his bearing that the members of his class made overtures for reconciliation just before graduation. This action on their part made the thing public for the first time.

That chance does not control the careers of men is illustrated by Hobson's life. When he made this stand for principle, William T. Sampson was Superintendent of the Naval Academy. Years passed. War with Spain broke out. The North Atlantic squadron was in command of Sampson. When he was deciding upon the proper person to entrust with the difficult duty of sinking the "Merrimac," this steadfast and courageous stand of the Greensboro cadet for what he considered right was not forgotten.

Graduating at the head of his class entitled Hobson to go abroad to take courses in naval construction more advanced than any at that time offered in the United States.

At the Paris Naval School Hobson again proved his devotion to duty. Instead of squandering time, money and energy in the gaities of the world's capital, as many are tempted to do, Hobson sent part of his meager pay, each month, to his mother in Alabama, and devoted night as well as day to his prescribed studies. His summer vacations were utilized in visiting other countries and observing

their social, economic and political conditions with especial regard to their bearing upon naval affairs.

Twice he went to England to see Gladstone pass along the street, so sincere was his youthful admiration for this great nineteenth century statesman.

When the war between China and Japan broke out, Hon. Hilary A. Herbert, then Secretary of the Navy, decided to send Hobson to witness the war, in order that the United States might benefit by his observations of this conflict. Men much older in the service made such objections that the Secretary finally declared he would send no one, since he found difficulty in sending the man he considered the most competent.

When the Cuban horizon grew dark with the clouds of threatened war between the United States and Spain, Hobson realized that the navy was likely to see heavy service and that our officers should know Spanish. He immediately began to study, and two months later his knowledge of the language stood him in good stead, enabling him to call out in Spanish, as soon as discovered, that he wished to surrender himself and his men as prisoners of war.

It had previously occurred to Hobson that the advanced courses of study, which American officers were forced to take in foreign countries, ought to be given, and even improved upon, at Annapolis. The plan for such a course, which he presented to

the Navy Department, was adopted, and Hobson himself was appointed to take charge of it.

The plan of his course was to take the students on the sea with the squadron, after completing their theoretical studies. When the war broke out, Hobson decided that the students ought to see warships in action during war and complete their theoretical studies later. He went to Washington and asked the Secretary of the Navy to send him and his pupils with the squadron.

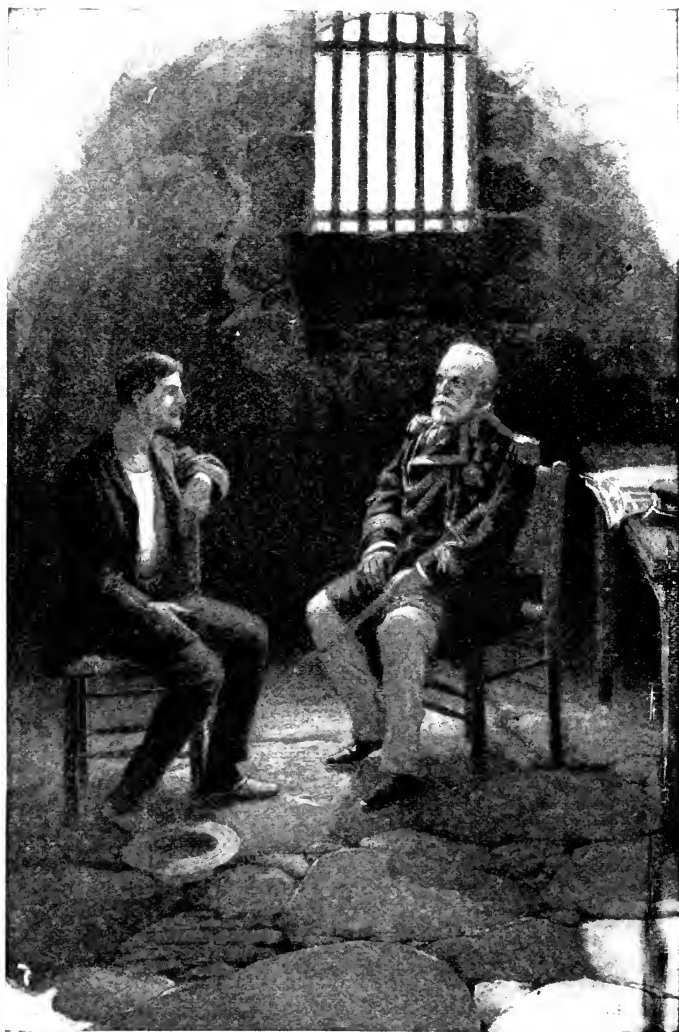
This was approved and Hobson and his class were detailed to the "New York," Admiral Sampson's flagship.

When Admiral Sampson decided to block the harbor of Santiago by sinking the "Merrimac," Hobson's plans for this difficult experiment were approved.

The commander of the "Merrimac" was loth to give up his ship in the face of danger, desiring greatly to take her in himself. But the admiral felt compelled to banish all personal considerations, and to consider only the success of the plan, which had all been worked out to every detail by Lieutenant Hobson, before the "Merrimac" joined the fleet.

The world knows well the pyrotechnic part of this daring deed, but is ignorant of the details which revealed so plainly the striking traits in Hobson's character.

In "The Sinking of the 'Merrimac,'" written by Hobson at the request of *The Century Magazine*,



From "THE SINKING OF THE 'MERRIMAC,'" by permission of The Century Co.

LIEUT. HOBSON.

ADMIRAL CERVERA.

In the Guard Room of Morro Castle.

and afterward published in book form by The Century Company, he gives a simple, soldierly account of this event.

No one can read of the dangers which he and his men courageously faced during their experiences among the enemy, without feeling a new stir of patriotism in his heart and a conviction that our nation can never take a backward step while such men respond to the country's call when danger arises.

Of the time when he and his men were in the water clinging to a raft, momentarily expecting to be discovered and taken prisoner, or worse, by the Spaniards, he writes:

"We remained there probably an hour. Frogs croaked up the bight, and as day broke the birds began to twitter and chirp on the bushes and trees near at hand, along the wooded slopes. Day came bright and beautiful. It seemed that nature disregarded man and went on the same—serene, peaceful and unmoved. Man's strife appeared a discord and his tragedy received no sympathy."

After entering the cell at Morro Castle he says:

"Left alone, my first thought was naturally of home. Then my mind began to go over the situation—the condition of the defenses, and the effect of the sinking of the 'Merrimac.'"

* * * * *

"We sat on in silence for a few minutes, when Admiral Cervera entered, and we arose, and the jailer withdrew without a word."

* * * * *

"The admiral left with the salutations and the courteous manner that would have marked a visit to a friendly admiral on his flagship. 'Ah,' I thought, 'this admiral commanding the Spanish naval forces has taken the pains to put on the uniform for official visits, and has come at the

very earliest moment to visit a young lieutenant of the enemy in prison! Surely, chivalry is not yet dead.

"As the admiral left, the jailer re-entered, and led the way out of the room through the passageway to the rear, down a flight of steps, across a sort of court, then up another flight of stairs, stopping before the door of the highest cell, which occupied the top of the southwest angle of the castle, a sentry having followed us. The door faces to the southward and eastward, from a commanding position, and, while the jailer was adjusting the heavy key and throwing back the bolts, I gazed out over the sea. There lay our vessels—I recognized them all—slowly moving back and forth in two columns. What a sight!"

* * * * *

"It was a great sociological phenomenon, and the individual was not to be counted—was, indeed, happy in being lost."

"Thruout the whole term of imprisonment the men showed the most remarkable spirit of cheerfulness. They never had the support of kind words and courteous visits, as I did; yet never once did they exhibit signs of anxiety or fear.

Having descended into his cell, Lieutenant Hobson began at once to put together the information acquired, on his way to prison and by making an examination of the interior of the Spanish post from the window of his cell.

He soon arrived at the conclusion that blocking the harbor would have been bad for the United States, and then he set to work on a plan for making his escape, in order to inform the admiral of what he now knew.

But day soon dawned on a sea at Santiago on which not a single Spanish ship of war was floating, thus making all information about them valueless.

During Hobson's imprisonment a Spanish officer came to subject him to an inquisition. As Hobson

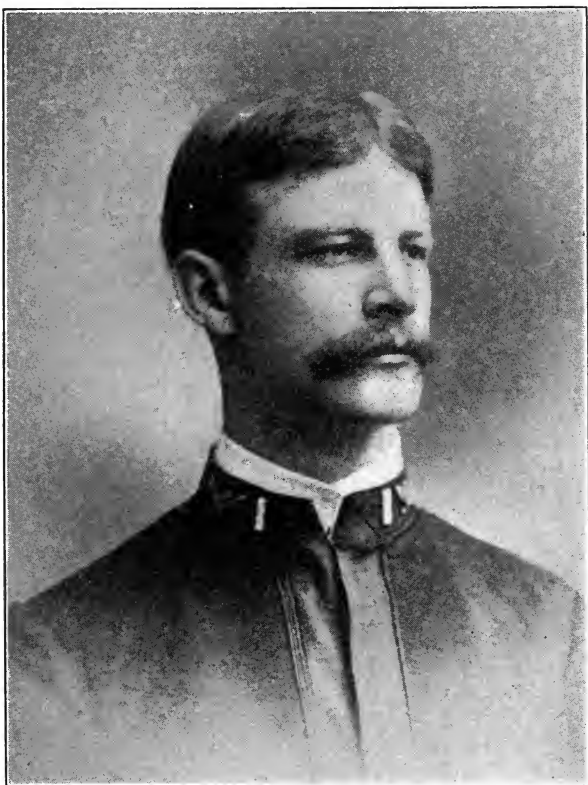
was a prisoner he seemed impotent. To his amazement Hobson refused to answer impertinent and unauthorized questions. He became very wrathful. Hobson rose from his seat and said: "Americans who are not afraid to sink the 'Merrimac' cannot be coerced or intimidated. You ought to know this and those who sent you here ought to know it."

This brave faithfulness to right and duty, even when in prison, inspired the Spanish officer with admiration, and ten minutes later he and Hobson were walking up and down the cell of Morro, arm in arm, discussing in Spanish and in friendliness the events of the unhappy war, during which Hobson had gladly offered himself as a sacrifice for the cause of right.

As soon as Hobson was free from prison and other necessary duties, he laid before the Navy Department a plan for saving the Spanish ships sunk at Santiago. The difficulties seemed insurmountable, but it was decided to make the attempt. The expert wreckers placed in charge of the work despaired of success, and after spending some time at Santiago, were ready to abandon the work when Hobson arrived.

He secured the recall of the men who opposed prosecuting his plans, and set to work with the remainder of the crew.

Undaunted by the many difficulties which arose, and undisturbed by the doubts expressed by all the parties concerned, both at Washington and at



CAPT. RICHMOND P. HOBSON,
Naval Advocate of the Interparliamentary Plan for Peace.

Santiago, he persevered, and finally fixed the day on which the "Maria Theresa" ought to arise from the depths and again take her place on the surface of the sea.

The American fleet came to the scene to witness, as was supposed, the failure of Hobson's plan.

At the hour named by Hobson, the final order was given which he had said would float the great hulk of the battle-scarred ship. To the surprise of all present except Hobson himself, the "Maria Theresa" trembled, shook, then rose to the surface and the flag of the United States was hoisted above her by the young naval constructor.

This historic vessel was lost during the voyage to Norfolk. Having encountered a storm, the captain in charge of the boat which was towing her deemed it necessary to abandon her, but she weathered the storm alone and did not sink until she struck the island of San Salvador, the place at which Columbus had first set foot on the soil of the western world.

Tho this ship was not saved for the United States, the incident is worth mentioning because it revealed the indomitable spirit of the young man, who had succeeded in raising her despite so many obstacles and such great opposition. Hobson was then sent to rebuild the Spanish vessels captured by Dewey in the East. These were then incorporated into our navy.

From this mission he returned with the conviction that impaired eyesight demanded his ceasing to do the difficult detail work involved in examining plans and specifications for battleship construction. His request for retirement was refused by the Navy Department and Congress, and he sent in his resignation, which contains an offer to serve in actual war whenever the country may need him.

He threw himself into the work of preparing the American people for the adoption of what he considers a proper naval program.

During the intervening four years he has addressed audiences aggregating over a million people, in every State of the Union, on this and other questions affecting the political and moral welfare of the nation.

He spoke with a conviction born of experience and his word had power with the people. The result is that Captain Hobson stands near, if not actually at, the head of the able men of our times, who are endeavoring to cause the adoption of a progressive naval policy by the United States, altho this company includes such men as Admirals Dewey and Schley and William Randolph Hearst among Democrats, and Roosevelt, ex-Secretary of the Navy Morton, and the present Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Bonaparte, among Republicans.

When it was announced that the conference of lawmakers from fifteen nations in session at St. Louis had declared for an International Congress,

Hobson was quick to see that this opened a new way for preserving peace and establishing justice, and he immediately began to spread this practical plan for peace broadcast among the American people.

The following is a quotation from letters exchanged between Hon. Richard Bartholdt and Captain Hobson:

"August 10, 1905.

"Hon. Richard Bartholdt, Brussels, Belgium:

"MY DEAR SIR—Since January 1st I have dwelt more and more upon the importance of our work to establish a Peace Union and to evolve the governmental machinery needed for the administration of justice among the nations, and particularly by pushing to fruition the Resolution of St. Louis, calling for the founding of an International Parliament.

"It would be gratifying to you and all other lovers of peace to look upon these audiences and see how ready and eager are the American people of all sections for prosecuting the necessary work in this noble cause.

"This unmistakable evidence of the sympathetic attitude of the American people toward the great work which the Interparliamentary Union has in hand ought to be interesting and useful, in view of the resolutions you will introduce at Brussels.

"With assurances of my highest personal respect and my delight at the great work which the Interparliamentary Union is so wisely doing, for the welfare of mankind, and wishing you Godspeed, I beg to remain,

"Very sincerely yours,

"RICHMOND PEARSON HOBSON."

"BRUSSELS, BELGIUM,

"September 2, 1905.

"Capt. R. P. Hobson, Greensboro, Ala.:

"DEAR SIR—I wish to thank you sincerely for sending me an extract from the resolutions you have caused the



HAMILTON HOLT,
Peace Editor of *The Independent*.

adoption of by so many great audiences. . . . This unmistakable evidence of American sentiment came at an opportune moment. We were presenting to the representatives of the people, having seats in every Parliament in Europe, a resolution which called for the creation of a Permanent Parliament of Nations. The principle was accepted . . . and a committee of eminent men will agree upon the details. Please accept my grateful acknowledgment on behalf of the American delegation for your services to the cause . . . and a return of the Godspeed which you sent us, as we went into this memorable battle for peace and justice. I beg to remain,

"Very sincerely yours,

"RICHARD BARTHOLDT,

"President American Delegation Interparliamentary Union."

This is the comment made by Frederick Passy upon Captain Hobson's addresses in all parts of the United States in favor of an International Congress as the practical plan for Peace:

"I rejoice greatly to know that an officer of the United States Navy has undertaken such a remarkable campaign in favor of Peace and for the establishment of an international organization, such as I have so long advocated. Captain Hobson has certainly given a good example to those members of the American Congress who remain indifferent to our movement for peace and who have abstained from joining the Interparliamentary Union. I shall not fail to speak of this remarkable campaign in the French press.

"But there is one thing that must not be lost sight of in Captain Hobson's proposal for an increase in America's naval strength. Nations under existing conditions must make preparation for self-defense, but under the pretext of preserving peace by armed forces a strong nation may set up to be the arbiter of the world, and may become its arbitrary oppressor."

Hobson's position is this:

"Prevent war if you can. Prepare to win any war you can't prevent. Do right always, so you won't get into any wrong war. Do all you can to hasten the day of perma-

nent peace. Be prepared for what may happen in the meantime."

Hamilton Holt, Peace editor of *The Independent*, who knows what people are doing for Peace in all parts of the world, said:

"A record of 1,000 speeches in favor of a strong navy and resolutions in 246 cities for an International Congress give Captain Hobson a place in the great movement for the world's peace, as well as in the one for American naval expansion."

"Mr. Hamilton Holt was the first Editor, Hon. Richard Bartholdt, the first Lawmaker, and Captain Hobson the first Naval Officer, in the world, to begin a determined campaign for the abolition of war by the creation of a perfect system of political machinery for the proper administration of justice among Nations." This account of the World's Peace workers would, therefore, be incomplete without the acknowledgment of this fact.

In his recent campaign for Congress Captain Hobson announced as one of his planks the following proposition:

"As a Member of Congress, I would stand steadfastly for just action by the United States in all its dealings with every nation, so that we may give no ground for war. I would persistently work for:

1. Treaties of arbitration.
2. A Peace League among nations.
3. International machinery, so that justice can be administered among nations as justice is administered among our States, and thus abolish the necessity of recourse to war.

Until all nations agree to these things, the United States Navy is the only instrument we have for ensuring justice

in our international affairs. Therefore, I will stand for a strong navy. Justice will be done and peace preserved and these things agreed to more surely and quickly if the United States has a strong navy."

Thus Hobson has played a part in the Peace movement, proving that Mr. Bartholdt was right when he declared there could be co-operation between the Peacemakers and the advocates of national defense.

Having demonstrated this even before taking his seat in Congress, Hobson's appearance at the Inter-parliamentary Conferences may aid in uniting these several elements upon the American plan.



CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Internationalism and Naval Supremacy *

BY RICHMOND PEARSON HOBSON

BY internationalism I understand all those movements which have for their object the establishment of justice and the perpetuation of peace among the nations. During the latter part of September, 1904, it was announced thruout the world that the Interparliamentary Union had adopted a resolution calling upon President Roosevelt to invite the nations to assemble in conference, to consider, among other things, the advisability of establishing an International Congress; also that the President had decided to comply with this request. This was evidently the most advanced step yet taken in internationalism, and was hailed with delight by the workers for peace in all parts of the world.

Readers of *The Independent* were not unprepared for this action, for the series of articles which it has published during the past two years on various phases of internationalism had not only foreshadowed this event, but had contributed, in no small way, to its occurrence.

After due consideration of this important resolution I decided that the prospect of its immediate adoption by all the governments was too slight to

* Reprinted from *The Independent*, April 5th, 1906.

justify *any* change in America's proper naval policy. For some years it had appeared to me that our proper policy was to adopt at once a progressive program, which, in a quarter of a century, would give the United States the most effective navy afloat.

It seemed to me after the passage of this resolution that the adoption of such a program by the United States would *accelerate*, rather than retard, this movement for a system of law and order in international affairs. True, there are many good people who have no sympathy for those who favor strengthening our navy. But why should any one refuse to advocate a strong navy under existing conditions, and stand for this plan of the Interparliamentary Union as the best way to improve conditions?

My idea in advocating a strong navy for the United States is not with a view merely to its use in war.

Some nation must have the strongest navy, thus giving to that nation what we may call naval supremacy. The nation which has the justest foreign policy ought to have the strongest navy. From its birth the United States has had the justest foreign policy of any nation in the world, and can be counted on in the future to have the justest policy. Therefore the United States ought to have the strongest navy.

In proof that our nation has had the justest foreign policy witness the Monroe Doctrine itself, which sought no special advantage, commercial or

otherwise, but which staked the life of this nation on the preservation of the lives of South American nations; witness our treatment of Spain. What other nation ever paid the expense of sending back home the defeated army of an enemy, and in addition paid for territory it had gained possession of and could have held? Witness the return of \$750,000 paid by Japan as indemnity for breach of commercial treaties, the return of a payment made by China which was afterward ascertained to be greatly in excess of the actual damage.

The United States is the only nation that can be safely trusted with great naval power without danger of its abuse.

The organization of our States into the Union is essentially the prototype of the coming international organization. The greater the naval power and the more commanding the position of the United States, the stronger and the quicker in their action will be the forces that are making for peace and justice, thru this proper organization of nations.

The grave danger of the whole movement for international justice and permanent peace is the possibility of another war in Europe or Asia before the international organization can be completed, thru the education of public opinion along the lines indicated by the recent suggestion of the Interparliamentary Union. If the United States had an adequate navy this would steady international affairs during this critical period, when it is so essential to

keep the peace, in order that the great commercial, moral and religious forces now operating in the world may bring forth and perfect an international organization, which can administer justice and preserve peace on a just basis. As long as war forces are strong in the world, the United States must have a commanding navy to support just international policies. Indeed, our navy is the guardian and hope of peace under existing conditions. Only when the nations are finally federated, and peace and justice hold undisputed sway, can we be relieved of the duty of securing naval supremacy.

The relation between American naval development and the plans proposed by the Interparliamentary Union seems, therefore, to be this: A strong navy for the United States is the imperative need of the present moment; the International Congress and the other incidental machinery that would go with it constitute the chief hope of the future, when permanent peace can be founded on a world wide system of law and order. Both are necessary steps for securing universal peace and justice; both deserve the hearty support of all the American people, and particularly of their Representatives in Congress. One can be taken by the United States alone, and without delay. The other can only be taken when the co-operation of all the nations is secured.

Under these circumstances a citizen in the realm of internationalism should do everything in his power to cause the adoption by the United States of

a strong naval program and the establishment of an International Congress by the consent of all nations.

In facing the situation which now confronts us with a view to determining the proper relation between internationalism and naval supremacy, I am reminded of Washington's injunction: "In time of peace prepare for war." We have never had a wiser or better man than George Washington as President of the United States, and his words are not yet out of date. Nevertheless, he looked longingly toward the day when peace might become permanent. Internationalism was never heard of in his day. It is a decided reality in ours; it may become the controlling factor in the near future. Then all that the Interparliamentary Union hopes for will be achieved, and we can then begin to figure on making our pro rata contribution to the maintenance of an International Police Power instead of spending whatever is necessary to hold naval supremacy. Meanwhile let us face the facts as they are and devote ourselves to each duty in the order of its importance, adopting the safe motto for those who love peace and justice, that as long as cannon are to be used in our affairs, we will see that the heaviest cannon are on the side of Right.

As *The Independent* has done so much to promote this practical plan for peace, its readers may be interested in the following facts, which indicate how the great masses of the people feel on this subject. When the calling of The Hague Conference was an-

nounced, in response to the request of the Interparliamentary Union, I had engagements to speak in over 200 cities situated in various parts of the United States. I determined to introduce, at the close of each address, a resolution endorsing the plan of the Interparliamentary Union for an International Congress and also the strengthening of the United States navy. And since January 1st, 1905, such resolutions have been enthusiastically approved by a rising and almost unanimous vote in 246 cities, situated in thirty-five States and two Territories, by audiences aggregating about two hundred thousand persons. This is worth speaking about, because it proves beyond question that the masses of the American people are prepared to go the full length of the proposition put forward by the Interparliamentary Union. Indeed, they are prepared to go even further than has been proposed, as will appear from the following extract from the resolution which has been adopted so enthusiastically in so many of our cities:

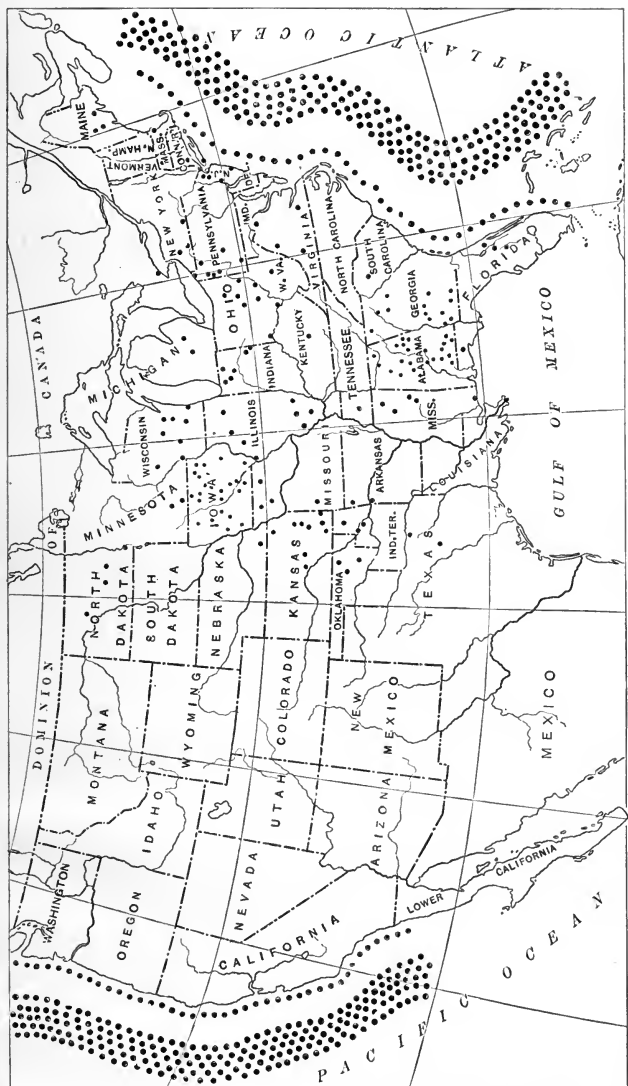
In the interest of peace and justice

Be it resolved by this gathering of representative citizens

That general treaties of arbitration should be negotiated by the United States with all nations.

That the United States should continue to urge the convening of the second Hague Conference, and should urge the establishment of an International Parliament, and the other machinery necessary to perfect an international organization for the administration of justice among nations, as justice is now administered among the States of the American Union.

Be it further resolved, That the Mayor is requested to



The dots in the States represent cities at which Hobson's Resolution was passed between January 1st, 1905, and March 1st, 1906, endorsing both the Bartholdt plan for Peace and the Hobson plan for a Navy. The outer lines of dots on the two oceans represent the warships of the six great powers of Europe, only one of which (France) has a head elected by the people. The inner line of dots represents the warships of the United States.

name a Committee of Three to notify the Representative of this District, the Senators of this State, and the President of the United States of the passing of these resolutions.

I am persuaded from personal contact with the masses of our people that they are ready to stand for a system of law and order co-extensive with our commerce, and for an adequate navy pending universal consent to this practical plan for peace.



CHAPTER XXXIX.

Theodore Roosevelt: Recipient of the Peace Prize*

BY. HAYNE DAVIS

THE award of the Peace Prize for 1905 to President Roosevelt is remarkable for several reasons, as well as gratifying to Americans. Thirty Nobel prizes have been awarded, but this is the first one that has been received by the Head of any state. It is the first one awarded to an American. And it is the first Peace Prize awarded to one whose notable services in the cause of peace were rendered during the period for which the prize was awarded. This last fact is all the more remarkable, because one clause of Mr. Nobel's will provides that the Peace Prize is to be awarded each year to the person who has rendered the most effective service for peace *during the previous twelve months*.

When this will became operative (1900) the members of the committee were confronted by this clause and by the fact that those who had done the most notable deeds in the cause of peace had rendered these services during several decades, and not during the previous twelve months.

So they decided to clear the slate by awarding

* Reprinted from *The Independent*, January 10, 1907.

the prizes to the veterans in the war before adhering to the strict letter of the will. Had they done otherwise, they would have defeated Mr. Nobel's will by strict adherence to its letter. They have awarded the prize to Frederick Passy and William Randal Cremer, the creators of the Interparliamentary Union; to Dr. Albert Gobat, its general secretary, and to M. Eli Du Common, president of the Permanent Peace Bureau at Berne; to Baroness Bertha von Suttner, author of "Lay Down Your Arms." It was she who suggested this way of promoting peace to Mr. Nobel. She organized the Interparliamentary Group in the Austrian Parliament, and a peace society at Vienna, of which she has been president, during a decade or more.

The logic of events has now compelled them to leave the past and come to the present. Like all the rest of the world, the members of this committee felt a thrill of hope when the Interparliamentary Conference declared at St. Louis for a second general assembly of the nations, to consider ideas whose adoption would make permanent peace a possibility. This gleam of hope began to burn strong and bright when President Roosevelt announced, on the 24th of September, 1904, that he would invite the nations to such a conference at an early date.

Count Albert Apponyi declared at the time that the President had rendered a service of supreme importance to the whole world by this progressive act,

done so decisively and in words of almost biblical simplicity.

In my opinion, all the other things that the President has done to promote peace are not equal in value to causing this second conference of nations to convene for discussion of the things that pertain to the peace of the world.

Within thirty days after the President promised to call such a conference, the State Department was awaiting replies, from all the nations represented at the Hague Conference of 1898, to a communication, ordered to be sent by the President, embodying the resolution upon which the President had acted, and a request that these nations participate in a second conference at The Hague. Before 1905 was well at sea, so many favorable responses were received that the assembling of such a conference became an assured fact. But as war was still raging in the East, it seemed best to have the conference convene after the re-establishment of peace. Mr. Roosevelt was undisturbed by this delay. He kept his eyes on the course of events and grasped the first opportune moment to bring the war to an end.

In proposing a conference to negotiate terms of peace, it is remarkable that he promised to provide a place *where the envoys would not be interfered with by any other powers*. This is significant, in view of the fact that after China and Japan had concluded terms of peace in 1890, and were pen in hand to subscribe the treaty, its execution was forbidden by

the representations of Russia, Germany and other European powers in Asia. When the peace envoys arrived in America they found that the President had prepared a place for them to negotiate at Portsmouth, N. H., where no European diplomat is ever seen. On their way to this quiet place the envoys conferred with Mr. Roosevelt at Oyster Bay, and felt for the first time the force which is embodied in this man. Later they and the Emperors of Japan and Russia were to feel this force again, for after much negotiation and much cabling to Tokio and St. Petersburg, it seemed as if terms of peace could not possibly be agreed upon. Mr. Roosevelt felt that peace could and should be concluded, and he made both the Emperors feel this, and as a result of his action, at the crisis of the negotiations, peace was re-established.

This was an even greater service to the world than appears on the surface. For, by ending this war in this way, *Mr. Roosevelt moved the world's political capital from Europe to America.* That was a greater service than ending one war, for it gave the predominance in international councils to America, thus placing the heaviest pressure in international politics at the proper point—the point where Principle rather than policy or will is the rule of action. This will continue after Roosevelt ceases to act as President, and it will promote progress, and peace founded on justice. Eminent Europeans have confessed this, and time will prove that it is true.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT,

Recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize for the year 1905.

Photograph by Rockwood, New York. Copyrighted, 1905. Reproduced by permission.

The termination of this war opened the way for the assembling of the conference called by the President, and he began at once to press for this. The resolution on which he had acted in calling for this conference did not mention South America, but it was drawn intentionally so as to include those States. In sending out his preliminary invitations Mr. Roosevelt addressed only those States that were represented at The Hague in 1898, and, as no South American State was invited to that conference, no South American State was included in his first invitation. But, after securing the consent of the States represented at the first conference, to participate in a second, steps were taken to bring South and Central America into this conference, and in consequence *every real* State in the world will be represented at the coming conference.

We owe this to Mr. Roosevelt, not to him alone, but to him and others, whose work would have been in vain, for the present, if he had not acted as he did; for instance, Mr. Bartholdt, who drafted the resolution on which Mr. Roosevelt acted; Mr. Cremer, Count Apponyi, Lord Weardale, Baron d'Estournelles, Senator La Fontaine, Marquis Pandolfi and others, members of the Interparliamentary Union. I confess that I find difficulty in estimating the relative value of the services rendered by these and other gentlemen, who had to do what they did before Mr. Roosevelt could succeed in doing what he has done.

Mr. Roosevelt's services have certainly been both conspicuous and effective. Almost too numerous, in fact, to mention.

Besides the services already mentioned he has the honor of sending to The Hague the first case ever tried by that august tribunal.

When Roosevelt became President he found a long standing controversy with Mexico still unsettled. It involved the right to a million dollars that the Mexican Government had taken possession of; also the right to receive \$50,000 annually as interest on a large sum.

Roosevelt sent this contention to the Hague Court, and as a result of this first decision ever rendered by a duly constituted, permanent Court of Nations, Mexico has paid us the \$1,000,000 and is paying us, annually, a sum slightly in excess of \$50,000. By this act Roosevelt set the wheels of this actual but inactive court into motion.

It was announced one morning in 1903 that England and Germany had blockaded the ports of Venezuela because of her refusal to pay claims made against her by these countries. Mr. Herbert W. Bowen was our Minister to Venezuela at that time, and was entrusted by President Castro with the task of negotiating a peaceful and just settlement of all claims against his country. At Mr. Bowen's suggestion, President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay arranged for a conference at Washington between Mr. Bowen, as sole representative of Venezuela, and

representatives of all the nations having claims against that country, with a view to arriving at a settlement.

At this conference it was agreed that all the claims against Venezuela should be passed upon by impartial commissions, so as to ascertain the amounts really due, and that Venezuela would assign a percentage of certain revenues, coming in regularly, for the payment of the sums found to be justly due.

But when these negotiations were nearly completed, this question was raised, Shall the Powers that resorted to force be paid *in full* before the Powers that refrained from violent action are paid *anything*? The blockading allies demanded preferential payment. Mr. Bowen stood for a pro rata payment from the assigned revenues on all claims proven to be just.

At this juncture, Sir Michael Herbert proposed, without first submitting the matter to Mr. Bowen, as Venezuela's representative, that President Roosevelt arbitrate this question. Secretary Hay endeavored to secure Mr. Bowen's consent to this, but Mr. Bowen insisted that the Hague Court was the proper judge of this question. The President thereupon notified Sir Michael that the Powers ought to take this question to the Court which they had united to establish at The Hague. Upon receipt of this note, all fifteen of the nations having claims against Venezuela agreed to have this question

passed upon by the International Court, and this is the most important case that has been tried by that Court. Baron d'Estournelles has said that the sending of this case to The Hague saved the life of that Court. Even if that be too extreme a statement, this was certainly a valuable service to the whole world, for it carried that Court of the Nations a long way toward a proper and effective position in international affairs.

The whole world is under a debt of gratitude to all the diplomats who took part in this historic event, but especially to Venezuela and to Mr. Bowen, who represented Venezuela, and to President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay, who acted for the United States.

Some of the advocates of peace are loth to acknowledge the place of Theodore Roosevelt in the peace movement, despite all these services, because they are so strongly opposed to his army and navy program.

These good people are tireless workers in the cause of arbitration and peace, but they seem not to have an adequate sense of the responsibility which rests upon the Chief Executive of a great nation. Their very desire for what is much to be desired seems to blind them to the duty of handling the actual facts as they are today.

The President must be ready to face conditions as they are, however much he may labor at the same time to alter them for the better.

Nor must it be forgotten that, in working his way to a position of power where he could speak a word for peace that is effectual, Mr. Roosevelt was serving the cause as well as and perhaps better than by preaching peace to those who would not listen. All the years of Mr. Roosevelt's busy life, all the bold stands he has taken for right, were steps in his advancing career, leading in due time to the hour when he could start the wheels of the Hague Court, call a conference of the nations, end the war in Asia, move the world's capital across the Atlantic.

He seems to be one of those men to whom "opposition is support." This was proven when the politicians tried to control him upon his first appearance in the State Legislature at Albany. The effort to swerve such men from the course which their sense of right marks out only serves to intensify their determination to go in that direction and to increase the velocity with which they move.

At the beginning of his political career, Mr. Roosevelt was too much for mere politicians. He became in time too great a force for powerful leaders in his own party. Without professing to be a politician, and in defiance of their customary tactics, he has beaten all the politicians of his day. Despite the fact that he habitually speaks in favor of large preparations for war he has *done* more to re-establish peace and to promote arbitration than any of his contemporaries who are avowed apostles of peace and utter abhorrrers of war. Indeed, Mr.

Roosevelt is a unique figure in the politics both of the United States and of the world.

Now that the Nobel Committee has cast its eyes across the Atlantic, in its search for great lights in the peace sky, it is to be hoped they will see and value properly the works of several Americans who seem worthy of receiving this prize. There is Hon. Richard Bartholdt, whose action gave President Roosevelt the opportunity to influence the action of every nation along the lines that make for permanent peace, and who has himself influenced directly the action of the Interparliamentary Union in several important particulars. There is Andrew Carnegie, who has taken a place in the very front rank of the doers of deeds that promote peace. There is Albert K. Smiley, the founder and inspirer as well as the supporter of the Mohonk Conferences on International Arbitration. There is Dr. B. F. Trueblood, Secretary of the American Peace Society, author of "The Federation of the World," also of the resolution for an International Congress, approved by the Massachusetts Legislature in 1903. And there are White, Low, Foster, Gray, Brewer, Bryan, Bowen and others, whose work is well known, and others whose services are rendered in that invisible realm where thought determines action without being proclaimed from the housetops.

It is said the Nobel Committee fears that worthy recipients of the Peace Prize may not be found after

a little while. America alone can keep them supplied for a long time, and if individuals seem to fall short of the requirements during any twelve months, where is the Interparliamentary Union? Is that powerful body going to die or cease to act before permanent peace is established?



CHAPTER XL.

Theodore Roosevelt's Great Opportunity*

“THE article in this issue by Hayne Davis, dealing with the President's past services in promoting the peace of the world, contains a suggestion in regard to services which could be performed in the near future. Present conditions call for careful consideration of this suggestion, namely, that the President of the United States is now in a position to cause the establishment of a Permanent International Conference or Congress at The Hague.

“In our February 22d issue of last year we commented favorably upon Baron d'Estournelles' proposition for the creation of an International Council, as soon as France and the United States could be induced to appoint and pay permanent members of such a body; and we suggested then that the proper place for ex-Presidents, not only of the United States but of all Republics, is in a properly constituted International Congress, which shall concern itself exclusively with questions of common concern to all nations. Events since then have been hastening the world to the inevitable day of establishing such a Congress, and there seems to be no good rea-

* Reprinted from *The Independent* of January 10, 1907, referring, editorially, to the preceding article.

son why it should not issue from the approaching Conference at The Hague.

"This idea is several centuries old, having come into political literature thru its consideration in 1600 by Henry the Great of France, and its development in the 'Memoirs' of his Prime Minister, the Duke of Sully.

"In the 30's it was suggested, vaguely, it is true, by resolutions introduced into a number of American State Legislatures, and approved by one or both houses in several States, notable among them being Massachusetts, from the fact that in 1903 both Houses of the Massachusetts Legislature passed unanimously a resolution which distinctly and definitely called upon the United States to move in the matter of creating a Permanent International Congress, with at least advisory powers.* Since then it has been endorsed by the Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, composed of eminent jurists, educators, editors, business and professional men, and by the Interparliamentary Conference.

"This idea has found able and outspoken advocates, therefore, among all classes of society, in Europe and America, save one—the Chief Executives of the nations. It cannot become effectual until this class accepts it and declares for it.

"Every one admits that neither peace nor justice has any possible chance of being securely and per-

* This resolution was drafted by Dr. B. F. Trueblood and was presented to the Massachusetts Legislature by the American Peace Society, of which he is secretary.

manently established until such a congress is not only created but endowed with suitable authority for declaring the principles of law which ought to control the action of nations in their intercourse with each other. How can there be observance of law till law is established? How can law be established among nations except by an International House of Representatives?

"Eminent men in every nation are waiting for some Executive to declare for this Interparliamentary plan. The most eminent men of France have practically invited Mr. Roosevelt to be the man by sending him recently a copy of the 'Memoirs of the Duke of Sully,' in which this idea was first and fully developed.

"The President has himself declared in his message to Congress that some sort of international organization for administering justice among nations is necessary and timely.

"State legislatures are now passing resolutions which call for the earliest possible creation of political machinery to administer justice among nations, as it is now administered among the several States of the Union. Important political changes, which have recently taken place in Europe, indicate that the hour has struck for effective action in this matter; for instance, the election of Fallières to the Presidency of France, the elevation of Campbell-Bannerman to the Primacy in England.

"Leaders of all political parties will rush to

the support of the Executive of any important country who espouses this plan of the Interparliamentary Union. Everything conspires to invite the President to declare for that form of International organization outlined by the recent Interparliamentary Conference, which contemplates:

“(1) A permanent International Congress, to convene periodically and automatically, for discussion of those international questions which the current of events may make paramount.

“(2) Jurisdiction for the Hague Court in a clearly defined and continually enlarging area.

“(3) Mediation, or an investigation of disputed facts, prior to the commencement of hostilities, in all those controversies that are reserved for trial by force of arms, instead of by judicial decision.

“All that the President has thus far done to promote peace will pale before the great light of being first among Chief Executives to come out boldly for these things which pertain so vitally to the peace of the whole world. Indeed, the President now has an opportunity that was never open to any Chief Executive in any age. He can carry this great plan to a successful issue.

“He is not a man to stagger at the magnitude of an undertaking, nor to fear the obstacles that stand in the way. Opportunity for service is what he desires, and certainly here is an unparalleled opportunity to do peaceably and on a world-wide scale what Washington accomplished, after war, on a continental scale.”

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX

A

The Parliament of Nations*

The following is a basis on which an International Congress can be organized:

"1. An International Congress of two Houses, a Senate and a House of Deputies.

"2. Each nation to have two Representatives in the Senate, and representation in the House of Deputies proportionate to its international commerce.

"3. Each nation to choose and maintain its own Representatives in the International Congress, and to have power of recalling them at any time. The term of office to be eight years, unless otherwise fixed by each nation for its own Representatives.

"4. Each member to have one vote.

"5. Majority to rule in all matters, and concurrence of both Houses necessary.

"6. Each nation to have the right to withdraw at any time from the Congress.

"7. The territorial and political integrity of each nation represented in the Congress to be respected by all nations represented.

"8. Deliberations of the Congress to be confined to matters which directly affect intercourse between nations, and its resolutions limited to the declaration of general rules or principles for the conduct of such intercourse, and these resolutions to be recognized as law by the nations, unless they are vetoed by an agreed number of national Parliaments.

"9. Each nation to treat all other nations on equal terms in matters of commerce, whether they be or be not represented

* This is an extract from *The Independent* of May 11, 1905, which contained the substance of an interview given out by Hon. Richard Bartholdt thru Mr. Hayne Davis the day after the banquet in Mr. Bartholdt's honor by Mr. Clarence W. Bowen. Portions of this interview were published by the daily papers and spread broadcast thruout the United States.

in the International Congress; except that any nation can raise a commercial barrier against any other nation equivalent to such other nation's tariff wall.

"10. While remaining in the Congress, each nation to have the right to arm itself according to its own judgment.

"11. War to remain a lawful mode of action in any dispute, except as the several nations agree to refer controversies to arbitration by special or general treaties of arbitration.

"12. The armed forces of all the nations represented to be at the service of the Congress for enforcement of any decree rendered by The Hague Court, according to treaties of arbitration."

The idea in allowing withdrawal is (1) that this would induce the nations to enter into such a Congress much sooner, (2) it would prevent the Congress from taking any steps not generally approved, thus tending to preserve the Union and to go forward only as fast as all the members are ready to move, and (3) it would prevent war over the desire to go out, if such a desire should be engendered by what was done by the International Court or Congress.

The idea in providing for the veto or nullification of acts of the International Congress by the law-making bodies of the constituent nations is that the Union is worth more than the adoption of any particular law at a given time. If strong opposition to any proposed law for the nations develops anywhere it will manifest itself in some national parliament. And if the opposition is not strong enough to dominate one or more nations the proposed idea deserves to become a law for the nations when adopted by Congress, in which all nations have representatives.

This provision is really a right application to international affairs of the modern doctrine of initiative and referendum. It will prevent the development of a desire to break up the Union.

The idea in providing for armament by each nation according to its own judgment is this: Nations would not yet know how far to trust each other's faithful observance of these compacts, even after they are made. No military or naval power being provided for the International Body, and each nation remaining free to arm as its fears may suggest, there is no reason for delaying the formation of this Union. Once formed on this basis it will immediately begin to demonstrate its trustworthiness and its necessity to our modern life. And as confidence increases armament will decrease, until in due time there will be no fear and no danger of the violation of national rights, and then the armaments will dwindle to a mere international police power.

The idea of providing for war between the members is this: Experience has taught the necessity of doing so. The British Parliament came into being in the thirteenth century. The right of an English citizen to try questions affecting his title to land, by personal encounter with the adverse claimant, remained until the 22d day of June, 1819. Then it was abolished. The International Congress must come into being and approve itself worthy of preserving the cherished rights of nations before they

will consent to the abolition of the right to protect themselves by their own powers.

This Congress being organized on the idea that every nation represented in it has the right to perpetual Home Rule or Local Self-Government, and to due representation in the larger political body of which it has become a member, these rights will be guaranteed to every nation by every nation represented in the Congress. If the guaranty is kept faithfully what more can any nation hope to justly obtain or maintain by its own armed forces?

With an International Congress organized on this basis there would be a working political Union of Nations, very feeble in power, but rightly organized and sure to grow in usefulness and in favor with the people of all nations. And in due time it would become perfect in form and accomplish for nations what a Federal Union like ours accomplished for the constituent States.



APPENDIX

B

The Development of the Union *

BY HAYNE DAVIS. .

IT is an interesting fact that the St. Louis Exposition opened on the anniversary of Washington's inauguration as first President of the United States.

Before 1776 the land of America was owned by England, Spain and France. Our Declaration of Independence followed by the Confederation of the Colonies brought into being a new political organism, formed by union of the revolted portion of the British possessions, and actually contiguous to England, France and Spain.

The formation of this Confederation by the Union of a few sparsely settled States, covering only a small portion of North America, seemed to European nations a matter of small concern to them. But no political event of greater moment to them ever took place. One provision of the first Constitution of the United States (The Articles of Confederation), was that the Union should be perpetual and no change made in its Constitution, except by unanimous consent of all the States. Nevertheless, the Constitutional Convention of 1787 decided that a

* Reprinted from *The Independent* of May 12, 1904.

union of nine States under our present Constitution would be better than the union of all the States under the Articles of Confederation. Consequently, when the ninth State ratified the Constitution (New Hampshire, June 21st, 1788), the present Union was formed, and the Constitution became operative, tho Virginia, New York, North Carolina and Rhode Island were not included in the Union.

After the formation of the Union without Virginia, North Carolina, New York and Rhode Island, these States were free to come in or remain out as they might prefer. Virginia entered the Union four days after the vote of New Hampshire formed it. New York came in a month later by a bare majority of two votes. Then followed the election and inauguration of Washington as President, thus constituting the United States an acting as well as an actual organization, tho North Carolina and Rhode Island, were still not in the Union.*

The substitution of the present Constitution, tho not adopted by all the States, for the Articles of Confederation, which bound them all together, gave temporary life to the idea of a division among the original States, but the incomplete Union lasted only thirteen months; for seven months after Washington's inauguration North Carolina came into the

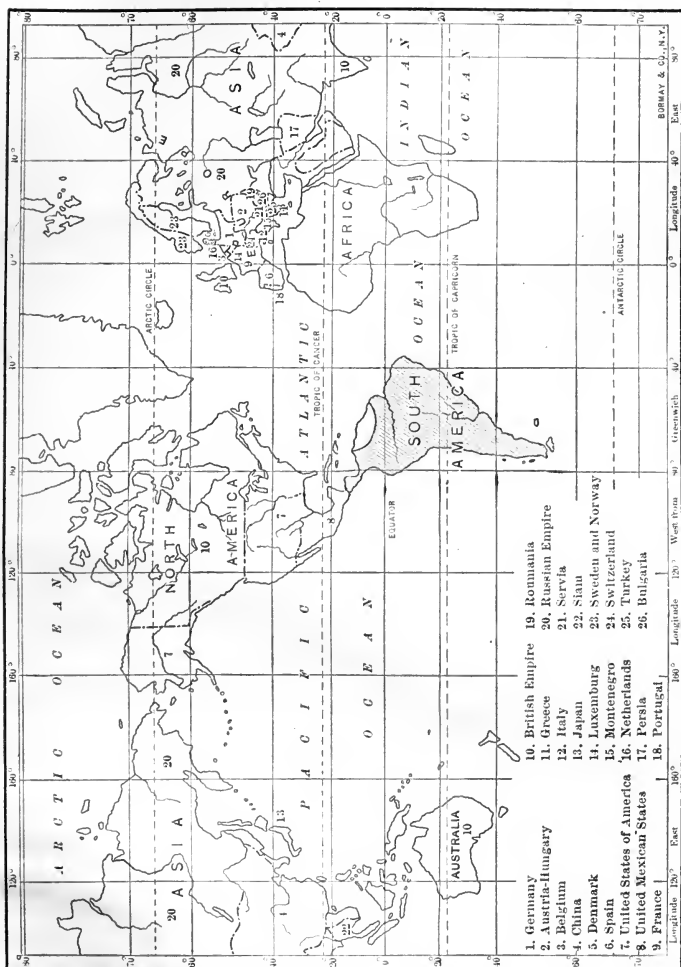
* In view of the provision that the Articles of Confederation could be changed only by unanimous consent, and of the fact that one State, Rhode Island, was not represented in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, how could the Union, under the Confederation, be dissolved legally, without the consent of every State, to enter the new Union?



THE UNITED STATES OF WHICH WASHINGTON BECAME
PRESIDENT IN 1790.

Union, and Rhode Island followed six months later. The entry of Rhode Island into the Union, on May 29th, 1790, three years to a day after the assembling of the Constitutional Convention, made them all one again, and the idea of several governments for our Atlantic seaboard seemed finally dead. But this idea was still alive in the minds of some, and seventy years later took form in the Confederate States.

If Virginia and the States south of her had failed to adopt the new Constitution, as they might have done, the territory which seceded in 1861 would have been left out of the Union. In forming the Union this was contemplated as a possibility, and was considered more desirable than the unsatisfactory union of all the States, then existing under the Articles of Confederation. A few decades made such changes in the ideas of men that, in 1861, no price seemed too much to pay to prevent the separation of some of the States, tho in 1789 it was agreed by twelve of the thirteen States that, if nine of them preferred the present Constitution to the Articles of Confederation, the other four could remain out or come into the new Union, as they might prefer. In the ruin of the Confederate States the deathblow was given to the idea of several governments on the Atlantic seaboard. There really was not room enough between the two oceans and the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico for more than one sovereign political power, and yet our forefathers contemplated several confederations for the land east of the Mis-



THE WHITE SHOWS THE TERRITORY COVERED BY THE HAGUE TREATY.

Mississippi River. What was desirable to us, and this change has come about in less than half a century.

The idea of a Union of Nations must go thru substantially the same development as the idea of a Union of our States. This has already begun. The Conference at The Hague gave birth to a feeble Union of Nations, in which is included all the nations of the world, except those of Central and South America.

The Treaty of The Hague is really the first Constitution of the United Nations, as the Articles of Confederation were the first constitution of our Union. And as our first Union was hopelessly inadequate to the needs of the people of America, so the present Union of Nations is hopelessly inadequate to the needs of the people of the world. And, even now, the same unrest which carried us into the present Union is being manifested thruout the world.

A United States of Europe is conceived by some as the proper outcome of present conditions. The Federation of the British Empire is planned by Chamberlain, and has long been a pet idea with eminent Englishmen. A union of England and America into one English-speaking empire seems to be the largest political conception of Cecil Rhodes, Mr. Stead, Lord Derby and others. But all these are too narrow for the times in which we live, and they correspond to the nineteenth century idea of New England, Middle State and Southern Confederacies for this country. A Universal Union is called for by

present conditions, and it should come by admission of all nations into the existing feeble Union of Nations and then by its gradual growth in power.

The United States of 1904 is in closer touch with every nation than the United States of 1776 was with any nation, for actual travel.

The distance and time between St. Louis and various points thruout the world, and the ease with which this journey can now be made, are illustrated by the following table:

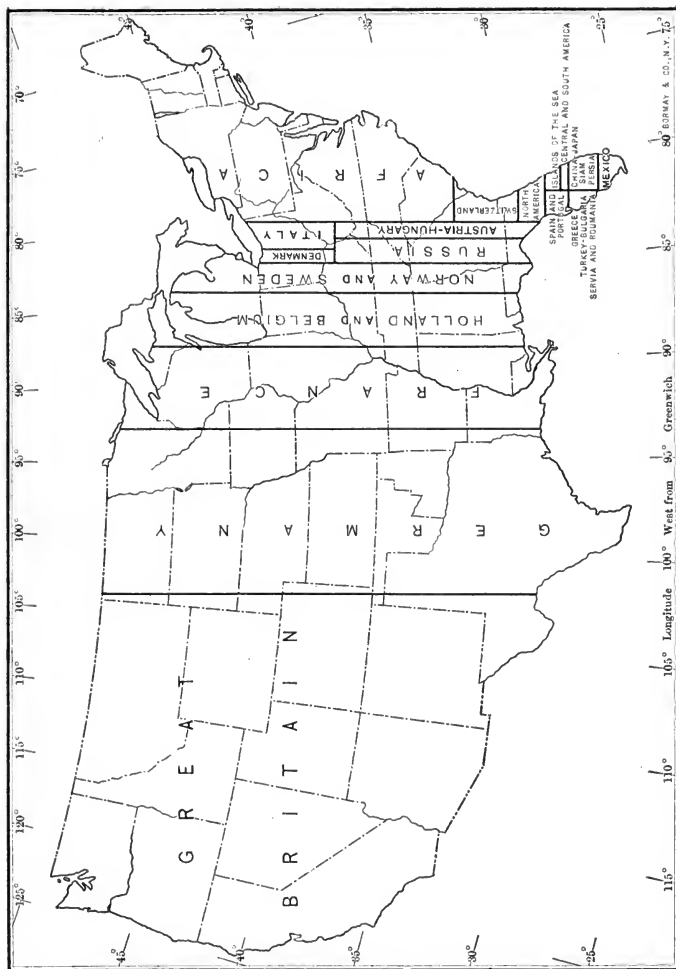
Distance to St. Louis from—	Time.		Distance. Miles.	Ordinary cost of passage.
	Days.	Hours.		
London	7	3	4,527	\$130.50
Paris	9	3	5,077	111.20
Lisbon	11	3	6,392	180.50
Cape Town	193.50
Cape Town via London...	28	3	9,156	314.50
Delagoa Bay via London..	31	3	11,268	333.50
Bombay via London.....	25	3	10,832	513.50
Sydney	29	7	9,594	254.25
Yokohama	19	12	6,862	197.50
Manila	29	12	9,937	229.25

It would have taken as much time in the colonial era to go from any Atlantic port to St. Louis, as it now does from any port in any nation to that city, and thought can be communicated almost instantly from one national capital to any other. The flow of people and commerce from nation to nation exceeds the interstate intercourse of a hundred years ago. The volume of intercourse between governments is an index to the interests which they have in common. Therefore, nations have more interests in common

at the dawn of the twentieth century than the American States had in the twilight of the eighteenth.

As the United States grew in material area by acquisition of the land of other nations, so it grew in population—in living area, one might say—by receiving streams of people from every race and nation. To the extent that Germans and Frenchmen and Italians and people of other nations have become a part of our population, to that extent has the United States incorporated living Germany, France, Spain, Italy, etc., into itself.

If the people of all nations can be uprooted and transplanted in another land, and there form themselves into one political organism, with many members, the nations can successfully form themselves into one political body. The vital point is to limit the new authority to those affairs which are common to all nations, thus leaving each nation as supreme in its own domain as it now is. This principle of Home Rule or Local Self-Government works wonders in human affairs. The United States has demonstrated, or, rather, the races of men have demonstrated in the United States, what can be done when all sorts and conditions of men are united in one political body, organized on the principle of Home Rule. All that has been done in America has been done by people from other lands, operating and co-operating here, on the right political principle. What the people of all nations can do for themselves in the



This Map Shows the Proportions in which Other Countries Have Contributed to the Population of the United States.

conduct of their American interests they can do in the conduct of their world-wide interests, provided they act on the same principles in international affairs as in their interstate affairs. The greatest political work of our times seems, therefore, to be the destruction of the idea that several international unions ought to be formed, and the strengthening of the Universal Union already formed, so that it may become adequate to the needs of humanity, as our imperfect and inadequate Union under the Articles of Confederation gave place to the present perpetual and adequate Union.

For the nations to continue long in the present condition would be an international counterpart of America's remaining under the Articles of Confederation, instead of adopting the present Constitution. For a nation to hold back, when others go forward, would correspond to the reluctant entry of North Carolina and Rhode Island into our present Union. The refusal of any nation to join in making the Union more perfect would be equivalent to a rejection of the Constitution by an American State.

The treaty of The Hague provides that any nation, by giving one year's notice, may withdraw from the Treaty, or, in other words, secede from the union created by the Treaty. This being true, why should there be any hesitancy in developing this union and giving it suitable powers? Secession of some members, after making it stronger, could only result in the formation of one or more narrower unions. And

the proposed United States of Europe or Anglo-American Empire would do this. These narrower unions, whether formed by secessions from a Universal Union or in advance of any alteration in the Treaty of The Hague, would be a prelude to war. But the least danger lies in developing the Universal Union formed by the Treaty of The Hague. With the right of secession expressly stated, war would not result, as with us, from attempted exercise of this right. And the mutual interest of nations would work powerfully against an exercise of the right.

The best interests of the people of every nation require the extension of the Union of Nations so as to make it Universal, and its orderly development so as to preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of the Nations, rather than the formation of narrower unions, destined to come into conflict and then be united, as the narrower unions of America did during the past century. The orderly steps in the development of this Universal Union are (1) admission of States not signatories of The Hague Treaty; (2) the submission of international disputes to The Hague Court, as they arise; (3) agreements between particular nations to arbitrate certain agreed classes of controversies; and (4) the creation of a deliberative or legislative body to supplement The Hague Court. This last step requires the concerted action of many national legislatures, but some nation must lead in taking this step. And the United States is the one to do this, by inviting the other nations to

join in a Conference to consider the matter. Such a Legislature once created, this political child of the centuries can grow naturally in stature, wisdom and usefulness, and in favor with all the Nations that took part in its creation.





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